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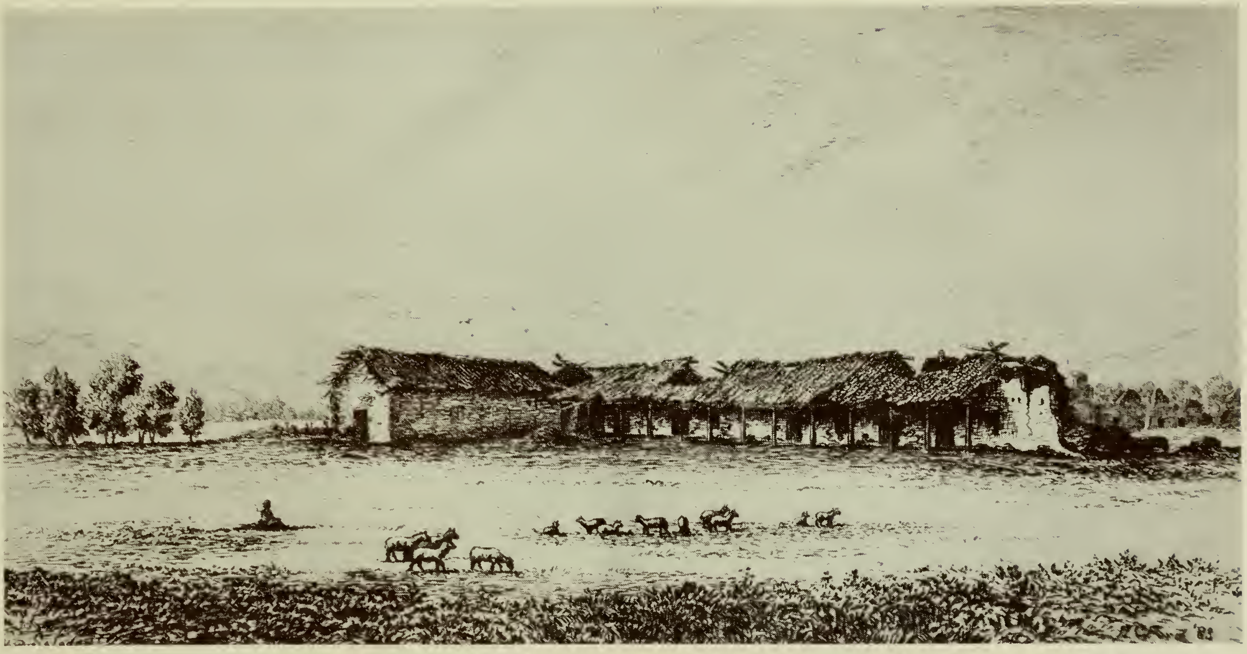

Plate 10. MISSION SOLEDAD

From an etching by Henry Chapman Ford, 1881

The Mission of Nuestra Senora de la Soledad

By FRANCES RAND SMITH

THE FOUNDING

ADOPTING the idea which Your Reverence advanced in your report of September 22 last, I have agreed that there shall be established in New California two missions, one in the valley called Soledad, between those of San Antonio and San Carlos, close to the river of Monterey [Salinas River], and the other . . . on the spot called Santa Cruz. . . . In order that this . . . may be carried out as quickly as possible, I beg and charge Your Reverence to name four religious who shall found and serve the missions. They should leave the capital in time so as not to lose the first opportunity of a ship that makes the voyage to Monterey. For that purpose, on this day, I issue orders to the ministers of the Royal Treasury at the capital, and direct them to deliver to the *síndico* of your Apostolic College 2,800 pesos for the necessary goods and for traveling expenses for said four religious to the port of San Blas, to whose commissary I give orders for their embarkation and for the subsistence which they are to receive during the voyage[1] . . .

So wrote the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo on October 31, 1789, to Father Matías Antonio de Noriega, acting superior of the Franciscan College of San Fernando in Mexico City. Father Noriega had served at San Carlos and doubtless had acquired a knowledge of the valley through personal observation. In his letter of September 22 to the viceroy, he undoubtedly had used the name Soledad.[2] There is some uncertainty concerning its origin. Father Pedro Font's explanation is that "they gave it this name because in the first expedition of Portolá they asked an Indian his name and he replied, 'Soledad,' or so it sounded to them."[3]

Following the decision of the viceroy that the new mission should be established, a transcript of his letter was forwarded by Father Noriega to Father Presidente Fermín de Lasuén. This was received by Lasuén on August 2, 1790. The ship which bore the message also bore the religious for the new fields. From among them Father Lasuén selected Father Mariano Rubí to be one of the first two priests of Soledad; the other was to be Father Diego García.[4]

The viceroy's wish that the founding of the mission might be brought about quickly could not be fulfilled because the necessary vestments and church furnishings had not arrived. Lasuén and his priests passed through a period of waiting from August 2, 1790, to July 15, 1791, for the viceroy must be notified of the unavoidable delay.

Father Lasuén, however, did not remain inactive. "I asked and obtained from the commandant of this presidio," he wrote, "the necessary aid for exploring anew the region of Soledad, and there was chosen a site having some advantages over the two previously considered."[5] Lasuén's letter does not state where the sites first chosen were situated or by whom they were selected.

The new site which Father Lasuén had decided upon was familiar to the natives of Monterey, for on the twenty-ninth of September 1791 a party of Indians started for a native village which was called Chuttusgelis,[6] to prepare a shelter for Lasuén and the priests who were to accompany him. Father Lasuén wrote: "Today eleven Indians have departed from here with tools to construct a shelter at Soledad for the padres and the supplies."[7] In this statement is the first reference to Soledad as a site.

A ship arrived in July 1791 bringing a message from the viceroy to the effect that in time *ornamentos* would be sent, but in the meantime the needed articles should be borrowed from other establishments.[8] Lasuén accordingly sent a circular to the padres of the other missions, asking for furnishings.[9]

After receiving the final instructions from the viceroy, Fathers Lasuén, Antonio Sitjar, Diego García, and Lieutenant José Argüello journeyed over the trail to the place previously chosen by Lasuén as the site of the mission. The spot was blessed and consecrated, and finally Father Lasuén raised the cross among the natives of Chuttusgelis and, adapting the name which had been given to the valley and district, now formally bestowed upon the mission the name "Nuestra Señora de la Soledad."

Father Lasuén's own record of the founding was inscribed on the title page of the Baptismal Register of the Mission. It reads as follows:

> *Viva Jesus.* First Book of Baptisms of this Mission of Most Holy Mary, Our Lady of Solitude, Founded at the expense of the Catholic King of Spain, Don Carlos IV . . . and by order of the Excellent Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of New Spain, on the site called by the natives *Chuttusgelis*, but by us, since the recent expeditions into the country—*La Soledad.* It was commenced on Sunday, October 9, 1791. On this day I, the undersigned Presidente of these Missions of New California, entrusted by his Majesty to the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico, with the assistance of the Rev. Fathers and Preachers Apostolic, Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar, missionary of the Mission of San Antonio de Padua, and Fr. Diego García, destined for this mission; of the lieutenant-commander of the presidio of Monterey, Don Joseph de Argüello; of the soldiers of the guard and of various Indians;—I blessed water and the site, and a great Cross which we planted and venerated. We immediately chanted the Litany of All Saints and the Te Deum, and then I followed singing the holy Mass, during which I preached on the Titular Mystery and exhorted all to cooperate toward such good work . . .
>
> This place, then, is constituted a mission dedicated in honor of the Most Sorrowful Mystery of the Solitude of Most Holy Mary, Our Lady. In virtue of the faculty received from the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico, I named as its first missionaries the Rev. Fathers Preachers Apostolic, Fr. Diego García of the Provincia de Los Angeles, and Fr. Mariano Rubí of the Provincia de Mallorca.—FR. FERMIN FRANCISCO DE LASUÉN.[10]

THE MISSIONARIES AND GROWTH OF THE MISSION

Father Lasuén not only had devoted much time and given serious thought to the selection of a site which in his mind commanded the approaches to the natural roadways of the surrounding country but had given serious consideration to the choice of men to whom might be entrusted the establishment and upbuilding of the mission. Upon Diego García, mentioned above, fell the honor of being the first to be chosen. Mariano Rubí, who arrived in Monterey on August 2, 1790, met with delay in his appointment and did not join García as a coworker until the mission was founded. With Diego García and Mariano Rubí chosen as missionaries, immediate occupation by the Spaniards followed.

Plans for the new buildings and their relative positions were drawn, and sites for orchards, vineyards and irrigation channels were selected. The Indians became road builders, masons, and workers in the fields and vineyards of Soledad. Trails leading to the best of the wooded districts were selected in order that the finest timber might be used in constructing the buildings. As the living quarters and houses for the manufacture of equipment were to be built from the soil, a method of construction must be taught the natives.

García and Rubí were joined by Fr. Bartolomé Gili, who had lived for a short time at Mission San Antonio, and García soon withdrew to that mission. Part of the responsibility of building Mission Soledad should have rested upon Gili and Rubí, but the lack of interest and shiftlessness which they showed leads one to believe that the guidance of Lasuén was still needed in the organization of the mission. Although they had been chosen for the upbuilding of a new community, this honor had not appealed to them, and almost immediately Lasuén realized they could not become adapted to a single part of the territory of New Spain. Father Zephyrin has published the following interesting quotation from Lasuén's correspondence in regard to this matter:

> What I have reported as to the haste with which they should leave here culminates in the supreme and extreme disgust both with this occupation and with the country. The one and the other confessed this publicly without any disguise whatever. . . . What other remedy than to let them depart? If not, what good would minds serve here which are thoroughly saturated with unconcealed dislike for everything that is done here? Always grumbling, always restless; agreeing with no one and not even with each other! These discords, and they were mutual between the two, as well as each with Fr. Diego García, when they were with him alternately, came to the knowledge of the people. . . .[11]

Father Lasuén knew that the influence of these men unfortunately was far reaching. In addition, Soledad was not the place for the discipline of priests, nor had Lasuén the time to devote to such matters. Mexico offered the only refuge for them, and they departed.[12]

Rubí's stay at Mission Soledad was short, and it is doubtful whether any good came from his brief sojourn there. Bancroft states that "García left Soledad in February 1792, but he returned, serving there from Debecember 1792 to March 1796, when he was transferred to San Francisco."[13] The priests who followed Gili and Rubí at Soledad were: José de la Cruz Espí, 1794–95; José Manuel Martiarena, 1795–97; Baltasar Carnicer, 1797–98; and Antonio Jaime (from March 1796) and Mariano Payeras (from November 1798) to the end of the decade.[14]

Lasuén's policy of removing undesirable men from his field in California resulted in the strengthening of the mission interests generally. The following statistics show the progress in population, the development of agriculture, and the increase of stock at Mission Soledad during the first nine years of its existence: The 11 converts listed at the end of 1791 had increased to 493 by 1800. By the latter year, baptisms had aggregated 704, deaths 224, and marriages 164. From 194 head, the large livestock had increased to 1,383, and small stock from 213 to 3,024. The agricultural yield, which was 525 bushels in 1792 and only 350 in 1794, was 2,000 in 1797, and 2,600 in 1800, making a total yield for the decade of 14,800 bushels.[15] The fact that supplies valued at $418 were sent to the Presidio of Monterey in 1796 indicates a very certain prosperity.[16]

As dwellings and storehouses were the first requisite, it is probable that these buildings were well on toward completion prior to 1797 when the community is recorded as possessing "an adobe church with roof of straw."[17] It was during the year previous to this that Antonio Jaime arrived and found the Indians busily engaged in making adobe bricks and transporting them to the gradually rising walls of their place of worship. With the completion of the church, affairs apparently proceeded in a satisfactory manner, as there are no reports of unrest among the Indians or of a depletion of food supplies.

Mariano Payeras, who had assisted Fr. Jaime, left that field in 1803 and was succeeded by Florencio Ibañez.[18]

Ibañez had been there but one year when the community was seized with its first epidemic, the result of which was most disastrous. All the attention that Jaime and Ibañez could bestow upon them did not alleviate the fears of the poor natives, and they fled in despair. The mission was desolate indeed, for not an Indian remained. This was recorded on February 5, 1802. Not many days elapsed before their return, for it was stated on February 11, that five or six deaths were occurring daily.[19] Again in 1806 an epidemic occurred at the mission, but the distress incident to it was met and again alleviated by the priests. It is to the credit of Fathers Jaime and Ibañez that the population in 1805 is recorded as 727 neophytes.[20]

It would be interesting to know the occupations which Father Jaime found most conducive to the welfare of the Indians, for no new buildings were reported until 1808, when another church was commenced.

During the term of Ibañez, the death of Governor José Joaquin de Arrillaga occurred at Soledad. While traveling in the province the governor had been driven by serious illness to take shelter in the mission, where every kindness and care were administered by Ibañez. On July 25, 1814, he died, and according to his request he was buried in the center of the church.[21] An account of the funeral was recorded in the following quaint manner by Dorotea Valdes:

> Q. Do you remember the funeral of Gov. Arrillaga?
>
> Answer. I do. His excellency lies buried in the ex-mission of Soledad, his funeral was a very imposing one, and was witnessed by hundreds of good citizens of Spain, the missionaries of four missions, a great many indians, and every soldier belonging then to the Presidio of Monterey—at his funeral José el Cantor and upward of four hundred neophytes kept up a continuous singing of the *miserere*. By way of digression I will observe, that José el Cantor, though then a young indian was an excellent singer, understood music and latin of the church as well as any priest. After Governor Arrillaga was buried, a monument was raised over his grave, and during many years afterwards on the 2nd day of November hundreds of indians and many white men and women visited his grave for the purpose of placing flowers over it. The mission of Soledad is now in ruins, only a part of the church exists, yet I can point out the place where Arrillaga was buried, for I have often prayed in front of his tomb.[22]

On November 26, 1818, Father Jaime lost his associate Ibañez. Fr. Vicente Francisco Sarría, assisted by Jaime, conducted the service, and Ibañez was buried the following day in the church.

> In a report of 1817 Prefect Sarría pronounced Ibañez a missionary of mediocre ability, who could be relied on only for masses and like routine duties except in cases of urgent necessity. The criticism seems to have been directed chiefly against his lack of success as a doctrinal preacher and instructor of Indians; and it was attributed by Ibañez himself to his ignorance of the native language. In matters connected with temporal management he seems to have been very active and intelligent. In person he was tall, broad-shouldered, and of great strength. In character he was noted for his kindness to all of low estate or whom he deemed in any way oppressed. He was fond of teaching the soldiers of the escolta to read and write; and never tired of instructing the neophytes in work and music. He seems to have had an inclination, or an affectation, to show on every possible occasion his regard for the poor and lowly, and his disregard for those of higher position. Nothing in the way of food was too good for a private soldier; but to officers Ibañez rarely showed even courtesy, feeding them from the common *pozolero*, and declaring that they had their pay and might live on it. It was sometimes hinted by him that he had left Sonora on account of a personal quarrel with an officer, which may account for his strange prejudice. Yet Arrillaga and Ibañez were always firm friends, having known each other in the south. . . .
>
> In his last illness the friar refused to excuse himself from any of the duties imposed by his church or order. Sarría, who was serving as chaplain at the camp on the Salinas, hastened to Soledad to perform the last sad offices for the old missionary, and to leave in the mission record a narrative of his life and virtues.[23]

When Pablo Vicente Sola, as governor, in 1819 called upon the missions to furnish supplies for the presidios, from Soledad were forwarded funds for repairs at Monterey, blankets woven by the Indians, and other supplies.[24] Fr. Mariano Payeras, the *comisario-prefecto,* felt that a growing demand would be unjust and cited the increase of natives in his report to the viceroy in 1821: "Many gentiles are now coming in troops from the Tulares and from other regions, as the report of the year proves, in order to join the missions and become Christians. How will the missionary keep them unless the goods of the community which His Majesty has entrusted to him for that very purpose be at his disposal?"[25]

Father Jaime saw the necessity of not only supplying his own community but also of facing the demands of the government for supplies when needed.

After the death of Ibañez, Father Jaime remained alone and unassisted among the Indians until Juan Cabot arrived in 1820. His efficient supervision at Soledad continued until 1821, when he left the mission.[26] Father Cabot remained until 1824.

From 1824 to 1828, Father Francisco Javier de Uría served at the mission, and it was during his term at Soledad that an *eleccion de partido* was held in Monterey on November 19, 1826. This was the result of the oath of independence taken by the padres and neophytes on May 5, 1822. The election of Juan de Dios as the first representative and voter from the Mission of Soledad was described by the chief alcalde, Gerónimo, in his record of the election of 1826.

> At the mission of Nra. Sra. de la Soledad, this day, Sunday Nov. 19, 1826, I, the Chief Alcalde Gerónimo, last night summoned the people for them all to come to the church; and all being assembled, we attended our mass and commended ourselves to the Virgin to give us a good heart, that we may do what the comandante of the presidio has directed us. After hearing the mass we went out of the church, and being together with all the people, I named Sr. Simon Cota, who can write, as my secretary, and chose two scrutators, Odilon Quepness and Felipe de Jesus; and out of all the people eleven were set aside as the comandante prescribes, and all the people retired except the eleven, whose names are . . . and they talked among themselves who of all the men of the mission they would send to Monterey. Three wanted Fernando, one was in favor of Isidro, two preferred Valentin, and four Juan de Dios; and all the ten concluded that Juan de Dios was the one that God desires to go to the comandante of Monterey, and hold himself subject to his orders. And this is to be known by all the people, and this paper we all that are here present will sign, affixing thereto a cross because we cannot write; and Juan de Dios will carry it with him.
>
> (Here are the crosses.) Before me, Simon Cota, secretary of the junta.[27]

In a letter written to Herrera the following note of despair was sounded by Father Uría: "Would that God willed that my desire, for which I prayed him these fourteen years through the Poor Souls, might be realized. It is that these missions might be secularized, so that we Fathers might not be the stumbling block."[28] Father Zephyrin Engelhardt has added, "By this secularization Fr. Uría of course meant only the transfer of the Missions to the bishop and of the property to the Indians. Confiscation as the Californians planned was out of the question."[29] It is not known that

Soledad as yet had given any evidence of the general unrest of the times.

Education at the mission had been confined to the teaching of agriculture, the making of instruments, the tanning of leather, and the construction of buildings; an educational system was not begun until Pedro Cabot, brother of Juan, succeeded Uría. On April 22, 1829, Cabot wrote to Governor José María Echeandía, asking for funds with which to establish a school and employ a teacher. The friar faced a difficulty, for the care of the fields and other occupations kept the young people from turning to matters of education.[30]

To this prosperous but still unpretentious mission Father Vicente Francisco Sarría came in 1829. Father Sarría had been sent to California in 1809 after serving four years at the College of San Fernando, and spent the next ten years at San Carlos Mission. From 1813–19 and again from 1823–30 he held the office of *comisario prefecto* of the missions and was president from 1823–25.[31] Definite reasons may be given for his abode at Soledad, which became vital to the governments of both state and church. Allegiance to the Mexican Republic Father Sarría would not swear at the command of either Governor Echeandía or the antagonistic Ramón Arizpe, minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs.[32] Sarría wrote: "I have not the courage to take more oaths, not out of discontent with the independence, nor for any other disagreeable motive, but because I am of the opinion that oaths have become mere playthings."[33] Then came a tangle of affairs of which Echeandía was not master. Engelhardt writes: "He excused himself for not executing the order of expulsion, on the ground that if the Fr. Prefect were compelled to leave California the rest of the dissatisfied religious, who formed the majority, would also depart.[34] Because of lack of substitutes, it did not appear feasible to send Sarría to the Sandwich Islands or to the newly styled Republic of the United States of Mexico, so Soledad became his habitation.

Sarría's coming apparently arrested, or possibly prevented for a time, the depreciation felt in other missions, for it has been stated that "the decline of Soledad was less rapid than that of other northern missions in several respects, and in population it now surpassed four others."[35]

Alfred Robinson, in telling of his visit to Soledad, describes Father Sarría:

> It was near sundown when we arrived and dismounted at the door of La Soledad. The gloomiest, bleakest, and most abject-looking spot in all California!
>
> This mission was founded in 1791; and, although it presents a very unpromising aspect to the traveller from the gloominess of its exterior, its interior exhibits a striking contrast. A pious old man controls its concerns, and pours out to his guests with free hospitality the abundance thereof. His charities, his goodness, and meekness of character are proverbial; and to have known old Padre Seria [sic] was a happiness indeed. For many years he was Prefect of the Missions, and still exercised this function while attending to the spiritual, as well as the temporal affairs of his own establishment. In the kindness of his heart, he gave me a letter of introduction to the priests

of the other Missions, requesting their assistance and hospitality during my journey.[36]

Father Sarría, whom Father Zephyrin Engelhardt considered "probably the most esteemed of missionaries," faced confiscation of property and rights both religious and personal. Secularization, which Sarría had so vigorously opposed, had gained a stronghold which established it far beyond a matter of controversy. The power of government for the time lay without the Church. In his latter years Sarría was surrounded by discouragement and the deprivation of all but the few local Indians to whom, when strength permitted, he administered every benefit of the church and its religion. From Soledad he wrote to the governor: "The condition in which we missionaries find ourselves is deplorable already and it is turning into desolation."[37]

Bowed down with the grief of despair, Sarría, at the age of sixty-four, died at the Mission of Soledad, on Sunday, May 24, 1835.[38] Possibly because of the ruin, or at least threatened neglect, of the mission, Sarría's body was carried to Mission San Antonio de Padua and buried "in the mission church, on the epistle side of the presbytery in the sepulchre nearest the wall."[39]

Bancroft's account of Sarría's career, which was selected by Engelhardt as most fitting for his own publication, may well be quoted here:

> [Fr. Sarría] proved himself as prelate the worthy successor of Serra, Lasuén, and Tapis. . . . He was a scholarly, dignified, and amiable man; not prone to controversy, yet strong in argument, clear and earnest in the expression of his opinions; . . . devoted to his faith and to his order; strict in the observance and enforcement of Franciscan rules, and conscientious in the performance of every duty; yet liberal in his views on ordinary matters, clear-headed in business affairs, and well liked by all who came in contact with him. As prefect, no Californian friar could have done better, since in the misfortunes of his cloth he never lost either temper or courage. Declining as a loyal Spaniard to accept republicanism, P. Sarría was arrested in 1825, and his exile ordered; but his arrest, which lasted about five years, was merely nominal, and the order of exile, though never withdrawn and several times renewed, was never enforced. . . . He lived quietly at Soledad, which he declined to leave in 1834 when the northern missions were given up to the Zacatecanos, especially as no resident missionary was assigned to this mission. Thus he was the last of the Fernandinos in the north, dying just before the secularization which put an end to the Franciscan régime. He died suddenly . . . without receiving the final sacraments. Padre Mercado declared that his violent death was due to the want of food, and the tradition became somewhat prevalent that he died through neglect of the administrator . . . I do not credit Mercado's charges, or believe that there was an administrator in California who would have maltreated a missionary so widely known and loved.[40]

The passing of Sarría marked conspicuously the scattering of interests at Soledad. No resident minister presided at the mission, but Padre Jesús María Vasquez del Mercado, of San Antonio, as late as 1834, began visits in order that he might attend to the spiritual interests of the mission.[41]

Bancroft records the following history of Soledad between 1834 and 1840:

There was but slight loss in population or in live-stock down to 1834, though crops were very small; but later Indians, animals, and property of all kinds rapidly disappeared. The population was about three hundred in 1834; and in 1840 it had dwindled to about 70, with perhaps as many more scattered in the district. The debt was large, and there were left only 45 cattle, 25 horses, and 865 sheep, though the inventory of 1835 had shown an estate valued at $36,000 besides the church property. Secularization was effected in 1835 by Nicolás Alviso, and the successive administrators were José M. Águila, Salvador Espinosa, and Vicente Cantúa. At the end of the decade the establishment was on the verge of dissolution, and I am not sure that the final order was not issued before the end of the last year.[42]

In 1834 Governor Figueroa authorized the enactment of confiscation of the missions by the legislative assembly. The regulations, as noted in the *Reglamento Provisional,* were communicated to the priests on November 4, 1834, and in the following manner prescribed the rank of Soledad: "Art. 2. As curacies of the first class shall be regarded the two united settlements . . . San Antonio with Soledad . . ."

Fr. José María de Jesús Gonzáles Rúbio, *vice comisario* for the Zacatecan missions and also *presidente* in California in 1840, wrote to Father Rafael de Jesús Sória the following account of the missions:

> "I have nothing encouraging to announce: All is destruction, all is misery, humiliation and despair. Only six years have sufficed not only to annihilate the missions, but also to destroy in us every hope of restoring these establishments reared at the cost of so much toil and sacrifice. The evil to-day is certainly irreparable . . .
>
> "I pass on now to say something about our churches. At present, they are poor, unsuitable, humiliated and almost at the mercy of the majordomos, the majority of whom are very rude and possess little piety, and all with regard to the means in their care, very much restricted in providing what is needed for the support of Divine Worship and of the missionaries . . . All seems to be left to the discretion of the majordomo.
>
> Such is the law, but even when the practice is in conformity with it, what can we expect from establishments the majority of which are almost ruined? Some like Soledad . . . are almost as though they had ceased to exist."[43]

The inhabitants of Soledad had cause to complain of the majordomos as soon as the mission was affected by secularization. Nicolás Alviso of this period was followed by José M. Águila, who in turn was succeeded December 31, 1836, by Salvador Espinosa. William E. P. Hartnell found that Espinosa had not gained favor at the mission, and in 1840 he was succeeded by Vicente Cantúa.[44]

The condition of Soledad could hardly be thought otherwise than hopeless when in 1843 it was considered extinct by the fathers of the Zacatecans.[45]

That there might be no chance of the missions' rising in a final effort to sustain themselves, Governor Pio Pico, on May 28, 1845, framed and passed through his assemblymen the decree for the "Renting of Some and for the Converting of Other Missions into Pueblos":

Article 1. The departmental government shall, by means of a proclamation which

> it will publish, call together the neophytes of the missions of San Rafael, Dolóres, Soledád, San Miguel, and La Purísima, which are abandoned by them, allowing them the term of one month from the day of its publication in their respective missions, or in those nearest them; and they are to be informed that, if they fail to do so, said missions will be declared to be without owners, and the assembly and the departmental government will dispose of them as may best suit the general good of the department.[46]

Accordingly, on October 28, 1845, a proclamation was issued which began as follows:

> Pio Pico, Governor ad interim of the Department was of the Californias, to the Inhabitants thereof. Know Ye: That, in order to give due fulfilment to the resolution of the Excellent Departmental Assembly of the 28th of May last, relative to the leasing and alienating of the Missions, and being authorized by the aforesaid Excellent Body, I have thought proper to issue the following
>
> Reglamento for the Sale and Leasing of the Missions. . . .
>
> Article 1. There will be sold at this capital, to the highest bidder, the Missions of San Rafaél, Dolóres, Soledád, San Miguél, and La Purísima, which are abandoned by their neophytes.[47]

On the fourth of June, 1846, Feliciano Sobránes purchased the mission property for the sum of $800.[48]

LAND CLAIMS PERTAINING TO THE MISSION

The valuation of the mission property reached its height in 1835, in spite of the demoralizing influence of the secularization period. The estate of nearly 9,000 acres, not including the church, was appraised then at $36,000. The era of prosperity at the mission was passing, however, for there was a rapid decline in all lines of production. An inventory taken in 1845 gave to the buildings, furniture, garden with twenty-one fruit trees, and one league of land, a value of $2,494; and "there may have been twenty Indians in the vicinity."[49] In 1846 the entire mission property, including the mission buildings, the yard, orchard, vineyard, and agricultural land to the extent of two square miles passed into the hands of Feliciano Soberánes for the trifling sum of $800.00. The date of this transaction given by Engelhardt as the fourth of June 1846,[50] differs from the statement in Vol. A, Patents, which places the sale on "the Fourth day of January Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and forty-six."[51] This was the first sale of the property. It was made by the provisional governor, Pio Pico, and the property was listed as a private land claim.

In 1851 "An Act to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California" was passed by the Congress of the United States. As Soberánes held possession only in the form of a Mexican grant from Pio Pico, he filed a petition in San Francisco on January 22, 1853, in the United States District Court, in order that he might secure a title under the Act of Congress of 1851. Under the new provision the Soberánes property was to be called the Ex-Mission of Soledad; and on July 17, 1855, title to all of his possession became valid, with one exception. When the Soberánes petition was filed on January 22, 1853, it was followed by one from Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey, dated February 19, 1853.[52] "A decree or decision having been taken by appeal to the District Court of the United States," it was provided that title to the church buildings and other rights, including 34.47 acres of land, be given the Catholic Church. This vested all rights in Bishop Alemany and his successors "in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated . . ." This patent was granted by the authority of President James Buchanan in November 1859.[53]

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MISSION

Age has given an aspect of unusual ruin to Mission Soledad and has blurred the history of the old adobe buildings in the minds of those who would recognize the purpose for which they were intended.

The gray walls were simple in proportion, low in structure, and gave to the architecture of the mission an appearance quite as pleasing as the buildings to be found in the villages of Spain. In contrast to the soft gray walls were the richer and varied shades of the tiles. But color was not the only mode of decoration, for the rounded tiles and their radiating lines added a subtle charm to the harmony of line, form, and color.

The plan of Soledad called for the arrangement of the houses about two courts, the smaller one undoubtedly representing the first group of buildings constructed. (Plates 6 and 8.)[54] Evidence of the inner lines of the smaller court today is entirely lacking in the northwestern and southeastern boundaries. The northern section is still rudely outlined by broken walls, while the southern boundary is hardly traceable. Parts of the walls of the court are to be seen in Plate 6, and in Plates 9, 10 and 11.[55]

The time required for building the majority of the rooms about one large court is not known, but it is likely that the construction was carried on at different periods. The eastern, western, and southern borders were the low and simple adobe building characteristic of the Indian dwelling in the missions. (Plate 6.) Part of the northern border was flanked with a long corridor, each end the approach to churches built at different periods. (Plate 8.) The customary arrangement for the priests in the other missions was used at Soledad, the living rooms and sleeping quarters of the fathers occupying the principal part of the buildings which faced the corridor. (Plate 8.) Many sightseers who have visited this mission have considered it so unpretentious as to be uninteresting and have passed on to more impressive examples of mission architecture. Others have visualized the great plaza from which were to be seen the mountains which Portolá beheld when many years ago he looked out over the valley from the site which was later named Soledad. Nor should it be forgotten that the old roadway leading from Monterey to the Missions farther south and bordering the Salinas River passed in front of the mission corridor. (Plate 6.)

The Mission of Soledad had grown from day to day until the plazas were completed and outlined with adobe houses. The quarters of the residing priests, with corridor and court, were pleasing in appearance, and the walls of a church flanked a part of the mission.

Utility and compactness undoubtedly were uppermost in the mind of Father Lasuén when plans were first considered for the buildings and the grounds surrounding the mission. These structures, Spanish in design, were to take the place of the rustic huts of the natives and provide occupation for the Indian population whom the priests would gather about them. No contemporary accounts picture the neophytes as idle in those days. Back in the mountain districts were the men who understood the selection of timber best adapted for heavy and massive construction, and as no transportation was available other than manpower, the hewed logs were carried in relays to the mission. Many of the Indians were employed in the moulding of bricks, of which countless numbers were prepared and dried by the sun and wind. When the walls were completed, the timbers that had been hewn from the pine forests and transported to the spot were set in place for the roof. The span was covered with a network of rushes plastered with mud, and upon this was placed the outer covering of straw which formed the roof of the first mission.[56] For the tiled roof of the later buildings, the natives gathered from the river banks great quantities of willows, which were then woven together in parallel sections and, held strongly with rawhide strips, formed a foundation for a bed of mortar upon which the overlapping tiles were placed.

Hittell has written, "An adobe church was in progress (in 1793) which appears to have been finished before the end of 1797."[57]

In 1808, which was but eleven years after the completion of the first church, another edifice, long and narrow and with thatched roof, was built. It is supposed that the first church faced the southeastern end of the corridor, and it is probable that the sites of the two churches were the same, as it is known that the second edifice faced the eastern part of the corridor. (Plate 8.) A similar method of reconstruction was used at the Mission of Carmel when the old church that had been occupied by Serra and Crespi gave place to the more important building known as the great stone church of today. Mr. William A. Richardson, of Salinas, a cousin of Panfilo Soberánes (son of Feliciano) was familiar with the later years of Mission Soledad, as he was born in Monterey in 1842. The second church, he states, was located upon the eastern side of the court. This would place the entrance to the building at the southeastern end of the corridor. George Wharton James has written of an arch which undoubtedly was the entrance to the church. This may have stood as a continuation of the front wall, or it may have been in line with the supports of the corridor. This arch, as well as three or four beams, remained in 1904, the roof having fallen in 1874.[58] The second edifice built at Soledad served its purpose for thirty or forty years, when its deterioration set in.[59] Within these walls were heard the sermons of Fathers Florencio Ibañez, Antonio Jaime, Juan Cabot and Francisco Uría, all men who were fitted for tasks which required courage and insight for the constantly increasing problems of the day. It should be borne in mind that this church was the resting place of Governor Arrillaga and that here was heard the singing of the *Miserere* by José el Cantor and four hundred Indians.

The site of the altar where these men worshipped is still to be found in the ruins and is recognizable by a low wall. Here on a Sunday morning Father Sarría worshipped with his people.

In 1846 the church commenced in 1808 was considered beyond repair.[60] According to Vicente Gomez, "the buildings were in ruins, and it was a desolate looking place . . ."[61]

Mr. Richardson has stated that Feliciano Soberánes served for a time as administrator of the mission while Alvarado was governor. At this time when there appeared to be no means of arresting the ruin of the establishment, Soberánes became the possessor of the mission lands (Plate 7)[62] and began to erect the church which stands at the southwestern corner of the buildings as they are known today. (Plate 8.)

George Wharton James has written the following:

> It is claimed by the Soberanes family in Soledad that the present ruins of the church are of the building erected about 1850 by their grandfather. The family lived in a house just southwest of the Mission, and there this grandfather was born. He was baptized, confirmed, and married in the old church, and when, after secularization, the Mission property was offered for sale he purchased it. As the church, in the years of pitiful struggle for possession of its temporalities, had been allowed to go to ruin, this true son of the church erected the building, the ruins of which now bring sadness to the hearts of all who care.[63]

If the dimensions of this church are compared with those of the larger mission edifices it would be proper to give the building the rank of a chapel. Plate 14 shows clearly the foundation made of cobblestones upon which were built the walls three feet in thickness. Plates 12 and 13 represent the building as it stood unimpaired, with the exception of the break in the roof which may have been caused by faulty construction.[64] The heavy tiles had dropped away from the eaves, and the projecting timbers gave no protection, as they formerly had done, to the front of the chapel.

It is not known how extensively tiles were used in the mission, but in times past many roof tiles in broken fragments were scattered about the mission. The tile used upon the roof was 1′ 10½″ in length with ends measuring 9½″ in width by 4½″ in depth and 7″ in width by 3½″ in depth, respectively. The floor tile measured 5¾″ square by 1″ in depth.[65]

In Plates 11 and 13 are to be seen the western elevation of the chapel. It is to be assumed that ruin spread rapidly over the little chapel, for the pictures all show in a marked degree an element of destruction. The photograph taken by Mrs. Hare (Plate 14) presents clearly the roughness of the adobe surface and the uneven plaster which was used for the outer surface. The plaster protected the adobe bricks from moisture and gave a certain finish which would have been lacking in the sombre color of the unfinished wall.

Another valuable photograph is Plate 15. This interior is of the same period as Mrs. Hare's photograph of the exterior of the same building. In this picture may be seen the entrance with the upper framework of heavy timber, the massive wall with its fragment of interior plaster, the beam which originally tied the walls and aided in the support of the roof, and the fragments of tiles which cluttered the floor of the chapel.[66] It was about this time that Prof. William Russell Dudley visited the mission and entered the following interesting description of the chapel in his diary:

Jan. 1, 1896.

> Drove down to Soledad Mission about 5-6 miles. We follow Soledad sta. road for 3½ miles, then turn north along the foot hills; after three miles we enter a gulch and ride along a ranch road with eucalyptus; then turn to left and in the middle of a plain field not far from the willowy border of the Arroyo Seco which has not yet found the Salinas, stands more or less extensive ruins of the adobe houses fully 1 mile square. Some are only heaps of dust, but the walls around the old quadrangle are still standing for most part. At the N.W. corner is the old church, small, constructed wholly of adobe and with roof fallen in. The timbers were redwood and fir or pine, the thatch was of willow, the half cylindrical tile was over this. The willow thatch had the leaves of the twigs still clinging. But as they were protected from wind and rains, they may have dated from many years back.[67]

There is little that may be written of the interior of the chapel. The plaster upon the inside walls had its place as a decorative feature, and appears as a more even surface than the exterior of the building. The only decoration appears to have been in the altar. The rail had for its design a pattern similar to that in the San Antonio Mission. It is said the altar stood quite complete in 1882.

From the square and rather rudely constructed window of the church was to be seen a portion of the corridor which the photograph taken about 1882 (Plate 16) shows in a tottering stage.[68] The tiles which had projected three feet and had carried the drainage to a safe distance are upon the ground, leaving exposed long, slender branches of willow upon which the tiles rested. Some of the branches had also fallen to the ground, leaving a completely demolished section of the corridor.

Henry Chapman Ford, in describing Soledad, stated that "the corridor . . . was supported by wooden columns, instead of the more usual arches of masonry."[69] These columns or shafts were cut with square corners and apparently had no other foundation than the ground. They might be termed pillars, as they carried a simple block which had the function of a capital. Upon this block rested the heavy beam which met at a right angle the lighter supports of the tiled roof. The lower corners of the blocks or capitals were cut in curves, a type of support which was in use also in Missions San José and San Juan Bautista. No other mode of decoration was in use at Soledad unless the arched doorways should be included.[70] The long line of the corridor which George Wharton James saw in 1904 was described by him as follows: ". . . on the south side of the ruins, where one line of corridors ran, a few poles are still in place. Heaps of ruined tiles lie here and there, just as they fell when the supporting poles rotted and gave way."[71]

The openings for the doors and windows were simply designed. The low arch without decoration was placed in the southeasterly part of the corridor; in other openings no details were in use other than the straight lines and the square corners.

Interior views of the mission with the exception of Plate 15, previously described, are to be seen in Plates 17 and 18. Plate 17 shows the span made by the heavy timbers. The anchorage was carried through the entire thickness of the solid wall, the weight of the ridgepole and the heavy tiled roof being distributed through the center of the timbers. Some of the remaining timbers show the break which commenced at the center of the beam. Plates 19 and 20 apparently represent the mission at about the same period, 1887.[72] In these pictures the long timbers which projected over the eaves have collapsed with the fall of the ridgepole. In Plate 20 the chapel façade still supports the ridgepole at its outer extremity, the remaining section of the great timber resting upon the side wall. Above the horizontal beams and aiding in their anchorage were bricks made solid with adobe mortar, this construction being carried considerably above the embedding of the timber. This method of embedding was also used in the upper horizontal line of the doorways and windows where heavy timbers are found, the perpendicular portions of the openings having only the finish afforded by the adobe masonry. These details are more noticeable in Plate 18. The largest of the rooms pictured in the priests' quarters is without doubt where Alfred Robinson was entertained by Father Sarría.

The ruins of Soledad still resist complete destruction. They belong entirely to the past, and their history has received but little consideration.

NOTES

1. Revilla Gigedo to Fr. Matías Antonio de Noriega, October 31, 1789, *Archivo de Santa Bárbara* (transcripts in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), VI, 280-82; translation printed in Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1929), p. 3.

2. Unfortunately this letter has been lost. "It would be in the College of San Fernando if the liberal rascals had not looted it and carried away everything not nailed down." Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt to the writer, Santa Barbara, December 16, 1920.

3. Herbert Eugene Bolton, tr. and ed., *Font's Complete Diary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933), pp. 287-88.

4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), I, 492, 499; Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1912), II, 453, 454.

5. *Archivo de Santa Bárbara, Indice y Estractos*, XI, 419-22; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 492.

6. Professor Kroeber gives *Wacharo-n* as the name of the Indian village in the vicinity of Soledad. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78 (Washington, 1925), p. 465.

7. Fr. Fermin Lasuén to Governor José Antonio Romeu, September 29, 1791, *Archivo de Santa Bárbara, Indice y Estractos*, XI, 419-22; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 493, 498.

8. *Archivo de Santa Bárbara*, XI, 8-10; Provincial State Papers, 1767-1822 (transcripts in Bancroft Library), X, 138; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, p. 492.

9. *Archivo de Santa Bárbara*, IX, 316-17; Bancroft, *loc. cit.*

10. Translation of title page of *Libro Primero de Bautismos*, Mission Soledad. A translation is also printed in Engelhardt, *Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, p. 7. Engelhardt adds a note to the effect that the mission was not founded at the expense of the King but of the Pious Fund, of which the King at the expulsion of the Jesuits had appointed himself treasurer. The Bancroft Library contains an extract (in Spanish), taken from the original, by Thomas Savage, May 8, 1878.

11. Fr. Fermin Lasuén to Fr. Guardian Tomás de Pangua, May 28, 1794; *Archivo de Santa Bárbara*, quoted in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, II, 485.

12. Gilí was compelled to continue his voyage to the Philippines (Fr. Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, April 29, 1795, in *Archivo de Santa Bárbara*) but Rubí remained in Mexico, ordered by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo to "observe obedience" at the College of San Fernando. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, 486, 487.

13. *Archivo del Arzobispado, cartas de los misioneros de California*, 1772-1839 (transcripts in Bancroft Library), p. 133; Provincial Records, 1775-1822 (transcripts in Bancroft Library), II, 160; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 499.

14. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 500, from State Papers, Missions and Colonization, 1787-1845 (transcripts in Bancroft Library), II, 120.

15. *Loc. cit.*

16. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 500, from Provincial State Papers, XVI, 203.

17. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 500, from State Papers, Missions, II, 120.

18. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 152.

19. Provincial State Papers, XVIII, 183-85.

20. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 153.

21. In his testament, made at the mission on July 15, 1814, he directed that "my lifeless body shall be clothed in the habit which the religious of our Father St. Francis wear, and my tomb shall be in one of the churches where I may die." Quoted in Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, III, 8.

22. Dorotea Valdes, "Reminiscences," Monterey, June 27, 1874 (dictated MS, California Pioneers, No. 8, in Bancroft Library), pp. 1, 2.

23. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 385-86. Bancroft gives as his source *Libro Mision Soledad* (MS), p. 22, and cites also Sarría's report of November 5, 1817, *Archivo de Santa Bárbara*, III, 60-61; Inocente García, *Hechos Históricos* (MS in Bancroft Library),

pp. 31, 34; and *Autobiografía Autográfica de los Padres Misioneros,* 1817 ((MS in Bancroft Library).

24. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 257, 258.

25. Fr. Payeras, "Memorial," June 18, 1821, *Archivo de Santa Bárbara,* quoted in Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 116.

26. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 577, 622; III, 683.

27. *San Antonio, Documentos Sueltos,* 1779 et seq. (MSS in Bancroft Library), p. 105; also in Departmental State Papers, Benicia, Military, 1772-1846 (MSS in Bancroft Library), LIX, 16-17; quoted in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 623.

28. Fr. Francisco Javier de la Concepción Uría to José María Herrera, June 18, 1826, *Archivo del Arzobispado,* No. 1905, quoted in Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 233.

29. Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*

30. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 623.

31. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 689.

32. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 267-68.

33. Fr. Vicente Francisco Sarría to Fr. Narciso Duran, April 23, 1825, *Archivo de Santa Bárbara,* quoted in Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 218.

34. Englehardt, *op. cit.*, III, 268. Engelhardt cites Echeandia's letter to Ramon Arizpe, November 4, 1828, in *Archivo de California,* Departmental Records, 1822-1845, VI, 215-16.

35. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 622.

36. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California: During a Residence of Several Years in That Territory* (New York, 1846), pp. 79-80; or Robinson, *Life in California Before the Conquest* (San Francisco: Thomas C. Russell, 1925), p. 108.

37. Sarría to Echeandía, February 9, 1830, *Archivo del Arzobispado,* No. 2083, quoted in Engelhordt, *op. cit.*, III, 290.

38. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 568.

39. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 689-90, from *San Antonio, Extracto del Libro de Difuntos, Muerte de Sarría,* 1836 (MS in Bancroft Library).

40. Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, quoted in Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 568.

41. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 689.

42. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 690-91.

43. Fr. Rúbio to Fr. Sória, November 3, 1840, *Archivo de Santa Bárbara,* quoted in Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, IV, 214-17.

44. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 690-91, from William E. P. Hartnell, *Diario del Visitador General de Misiones,* 1839-40 (MS in Bancroft Library), p. 28, and State Papers, Missions, VIII, 45.

45. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, IV, 296.

46. Quoted in Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, IV, 373.

47. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, IV, 445, from *Archivo de California,* Departmental State Papers, Angeles, 1825–1847, X, 280-89, and elsewhere.

48. *Archivo de California,* State Papers, Missions, XI, 955; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, IV, 507.

49. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 661, citing Departmental State Papers, V, 36-37.

50. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, IV, 507, citing *Archivo de California,* State Papers, Missions, XI, 955, and Isaac Hartman, "Brief in Mission Cases" (MS in Bancroft Library), 110-13.

51. Patents, Liber A (in Recorder's office, Monterey County Courthouse, Salinas), p. 427.

52. *Op. cit.*, p. 411 ff. The patent is quoted in full in Engelhardt, *Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, pp. 48-55.

53. Patents, Liber A, p. 421.

54. Mrs. Smith here includes as Plates 6 and 8 two maps: "Plat of Two Tracts of Land at the Mission Soledad Finally Confirmed to Joseph S. Alemany, Archbishop, &c., Surveyed by Brice M. Henry, Deputy Surveyor, August 1858," and "Plans of Mission Soledad" which she herself drew from the ruins, 1918–1920. The latter is here reproduced. Plates 1 to 5 (not reproduced) show the general location of the missions.

55. Plate 6 is the Brice M. Henry map; Plate 9, the photograph of the remains of walls surrounding the court of Mission Soledad taken by C. C. Pierce, of Los Angeles, in 1904; Plate 10 is the Henry Chapman Ford etching of the mission, 1881; and Plate 11 is a photograph of the mission taken about 1880, which Mrs. Smith obtained from L. S. Slevin, of Carmel.

56. "*La de la Soledad es de adobe con techo de zacate . . .*" *Archivo de California*, State Papers, Missions, II, 120; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 500.

57. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), I, 466, citing Archives of California, M., I, 820, and II, 736.

58. George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California, an Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions* (Boston, 1905), p. 219.

59. Hittell, *op. cit.*, I, 466.

60. Statement of Mr. William Richardson, of Salinas, 1919.

61. Vicente P. Gomez, *Lo Que Sabe de California* (MS in Bancroft Library), 217-18; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 641.

62. Mrs. Smith's Plate 7 is "Plat of the Ex Mission Soledad finally confirmed to Feliciano Soberanes, Surveyed . . . by J. E. Terrell, Deputy Surveyor, July 1859, containing 8899-55/100 Acres."

63. James, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

64. Plate 12 shows Mission Soledad when the break in the Soberánes chapel was just beginning. The photograph, by Knight, was obtained from Mr. J. K. Oliver, of Monterey. Plate 13, also by Knight and obtained from Mr. Oliver, shows Soledad Chapel and a portion of the ruined corridor. Plate 14, a photograph by Mrs. Hare, of Santa Clara, shows Soledad "hastening to complete ruin."

65. Dimensions from tiles collected in 1898, in collection of Mrs. C. S. Fackenthall, Pacific Grove, California.

66. Plate 15, a photograph by Putnam and Valentine, Los Angeles, shows the interior of the chapel in ruins. This view was chosen by Jesse S. Hildrup for *The Missions of California and the Old Southwest* (Chicago, 1907), opp. p. 64.

67. William Russell Dudley, Diary, 1895-96 (MS in Stanford University Library).

68. Plate 16 is a copy of a photograph, taken about 1882, of the ruined corridor at Soledad Mission, from L. S. Slevin, of Carmel.

69. Mrs. Smith's note: "Ford, letter–script No. 24." The editors have been unable to locate the letter.

70. The arched opening is shown in James, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 216, and in Mrs. Smith's Plates 11, 13, and 19. The last, a photograph by C. C. Pierce, of Los Angeles, shows the exterior of the priests' quarters and mission chapel.

71. James, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

72. Plate 20, a photograph by Vroman, of Pasadena, shows Mission Soledad from the roof looking toward the chapel. Plates 17 and 18 are photographs of the interior of the priests' quarters, by Putnam, Los Angeles, and L. S. Slevin, Carmel.

Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura

John Work's California Expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company

Edited by Alice Bay Maloney

(Continued)

Apl. 1833, Wedy. 3. Stormy weather the most of the day. I intended to have raised camp and gone to the big river near where it falls into the bay,[142] but some of the people who have been out in that direction two nights with their traps arrived yesterday evening and inform me that there is no place to encamp where wood & water can be obtained and that as far as they could advance there was little appearance of beaver, they caught only two. Thus situated I will have to remain here to await Michell's return. The people were out hunting & killed 13 deer, 2 Antelopes & 1 bear. Some of the men visited the Mission, and disposed of some part of their clothes for a horse & some Indian corn. They bring me news that Michelle left the Mission last night & went in a boat to go aboard of the vessel.

Thursday 4 Stormy in the night and forepart of the day, and very cold in the mornings & evenings for this season of the year.—The people out hunting & killed 10 deer and a bear. Some men went along the bay but could not set their traps.—Three men who had been to the Mission returned, they went to buy horses, but the goods, (part of their clothing) which they had with them did not suit and they could not get any.

Friday 5 Blew a storm in the night & forepart of the day.—The people out hunting & killed 2 elk, a bear & 6 deer[?]. An otter was taken in the traps. An American arrived with two of our men from the Mission in the evening, he had belonged to the American party and left them some time ago accompanied by another, the party he left some where near the Russian establishment he states that they had an excessive bad road across the mountains, and caught very few beaver, information from runaways like this can be little relied upon.[143]

Saturday 6 Blowing fresh the most of the day. The hunters killed 14 elk & 3 deer. Michelle and party arrived. The vessel which was at St. Francisco was off the day before he arrived, he however with much difficulty and at a very high price obtained a supply of 24 lb. Powder and 40 lb. of ball which altogether cost him [number omitted] beaver viz [blank] beaver for the powder & ball, 2 beaver for the service of the boat which he crossed in and 1 beaver for a bottle of rum which the Commandant[144] gave him. All these articles except the boat were obtained from the Commandant. This personage when he gave the rum said it was from his wife and hinted at something in return for it, what a set of mean Scoundrels. He sent us a Passport[?] unasked for.—We must endeavour to do the best way in and[?] with what ammunition we have got tho' it is far from enough.—Within these few days two of the men Rondeau and J. Favel are laid up with the ague. This disease again breaking out among us at this season [words obliterated] especially as we are without any proper medicines for it.

Sunday 7 Stormy cold weather. This being Easter day we did not raise camp. Some of the people went to the Mission to hear divine service.[145]

Monday 8 Stormy cold weather, heavy rain in the morning. The unfavourable weather in the morning deterred us from raising camp. The corporal[146] & a soldier arrived from the Mission and sold ten[?] horses to the people. The people were out hunting and killed several elk & 1 Antelope. One of the men Michelle Oteotanin was caught by a bear and a good deal torn in the arm and the back. the bear had eat the most of an elk which he had left in cache, he was following the track & did not perceive where she was concealed in a small thicket of woods till she sprang upon him, it is probable he would have been killed had her young ones not began to cry when she left him & ran to them. Four Indians came to the camp with some horses to sell in the evening. It seems that the Indians are not allowed to make any bargains whatever but that all must be done by the Priest[147] or some of his deputies. The Indians dont seem to understand this arrangement. They say that notwithstanding they belong to the Mission these horses are their own and that neither the Priest or the Spaniards have [words obliterated] with them. However in order to avoid trouble we declined buying any of the horses but two from the Indian who is chief of the cattle farm.[148] He even before the corporal urged his right to dispose of his horses as he chose.

Tuesday 9 Sharp frost in the morning. Raw cold weather during the day. Raised camp and proceeded 16 miles W, to past the Mission cattle farm & encamped on a small creek at the foot of the mountains in order to be out of the way of the Mission horses. In the morning we intended to have made a long days journey and passed the mission and its animals altogether, but found that the sick people were not able to bear it. The little river[149] where we encamped appears very well adapted for beaver yet there appears to be none in it.

Wednesday 10 Rained the greater part of the day. The bad weather deterred us from raising camp. The sick people are very ill, besides the ague, there is a very severe cold among the people that is nearly as bad.

Thursday 11 Heavy showers of rain in the forenoon. Raised camp & proceeded 12 miles to a small river[150] about 3 miles from the Mission. On approaching the Mission and at the end of a heavy shower there was a very large flock of sheep a little to the one side of the road and an Indian keeper with them. After a good part of the camp was past the stupid animals broke from their keeper and rushed among our horses, the horses took fright and ran off and the sheep with them all the efforts of the people could neither get them stopped nor seperated untill after a number of turns of several miles when the sheep were completely knocked up, and the horses ran to the Mountains it was with difficulty they were stopped what made it worse a number of unbroken horses belonging to the Mission joined them. At length they were all collected. A good deal of the people's baggage was also scattered about, there are some kettles and other articles not yet found. A great many of the sheep are killed and maimed, the stupid animals formed themselves into a mass 10 or 12 feet wide and the whole length of the flock which was no small extent, and kept winding after & among the horses wherever they went. I went to the Mission and called upon the Priest in the evening and expressed my regret at the accident which had happened, he enquired [whether] any of the people or children were hurt and when informed in the negative said he was well pleased, having to talk through an interpreter our conversation was short. Some Indians came from [words obliterated] and sold the people [words obliterated] Few[?] beaver in this little fork. Some of the men set a few traps in the evening.

Friday 12 Fine weather. F. Champaigne, was attacked last night with the fever, C. Groslui has been ailing some days I dont know whether with the fever or a severe cold and is very ill,–Michelle who was torn by the bear a few days ago is suffering very much. In consequence of the sick people being so ill did not raise camp in order to allow them a little repose. 3 beaver were taken in the morning. The hunters killed 4 chivereau. The Priest sent down his steward with a present of two bottles of wine, and his compliments not to allow the people to kill the beaver in this little creek so near the Mission but to hunt any where else we chose. His farm steward also came in consequence of information that we had a number of horses which were bought from the Indians about the Mission. It seems it is contrary to the regulations, for any Indians to be allowed to dispose of any thing, notwithstanding every thing about the Mission is said to be theirs.–The steward was desirous to examine the horses & that all that were obtained from the Indians would be returned if he would make the Indians give back the property which was given to them, he was also told that some Indians had brought [words obliterated] of them openly even though [words obliterated] was no [words obliterated] it was some of the others about the Mission that had made a noise about the affair, the old man apologized for the trouble he was giving us and said he must overlook the thing as it would be making a disturbance among the Indians & punishing[?] them to no purpose.—Some of the people bought a little corn & pease at the mission, and even some of them disposed of some of their clothes for liquor which is not saying much in behalf of the morality of a religious institution.—I bought two horses from the Spaniards.

Saturday 13 Frost in the morning, fine weather afterwards. Raised camp and proceeded W. 8 miles across the hills to a small creek in a fine plain [place?] where we encamped, this place was occupied as a sheep farm by the Mission last year. The sick people very ill, Michelle, is attacked with the fever in the evening. The man who was torn with the bear is very ill able to be carried on horseback. I am afraid his arm will mortify, they offered to keep him at the Mission if he chose but he would not stay, they have no medicine and for the poor man to remain among strangers whom he does not understand & where he would not get his food, it is as well for him to accompany us. Some vinegar was obtained from the Mission for him.

Sunday 14 Fine weather. Did not raise camp in order to allow the sick people to repose in hopes they would get a little better. M. Laframboise[?] was taken ill with the fever. I am attacked myself with a very severe cold Several more of the people are also laboring under the same complaint and it is nearly as bad as the fever. Some of the Spaniards paid us a visit after mass. I sent to the Mission and bought an ox. it cost a blanket and a yard of red strouds,[151] divided the meat among the people. The people were out hunting and killed several elk & some cabrie.

Monday 15 Raw cold weather.—Raised camp and proceeded 18 miles W. & encamped on a small creek.[152] The road over a succession of hills and vallies. This was a long days journey for the sick people but we could get no wood to encamp sooner.—The sick people continue the same, indeed as we are situated without medicine we can have little expectation of those that are ill with the fever recovering.

Tuesday 16 Stormy cold weather.—Raised camp & proceeded 4 Miles Westerly to another small creek where there is a little wood. We encamped so soon on account of Michel Oteotanin the man who was torn by the bear. Notwithstanding the long days journey yesterday he got on pretty well & said he expected he would soon be well yet this morning after we . . . . he said he could not move . . . . where he was.—The rest of the sick . . . . as they were.—One of the women . . . . wife ran off in the night without any provocation from him . . . . it is supposed she had made . . . . of the Spaniards . . . . character.[153]

Wednesday 17 Stormy cold weather. Did not raise camp on account of the sick man who remained behind yesterday.—M. Laframboise and a party of the men went in the morning to bring him up to the camp, the poor man died shortly after they arrived, the arm was mortified. I went down with some more of the people & buried him.[154] He has left a wife and two children. Two Englishmen, J. Martin, Jerry Jones arrived from the Mission with some horses which they expect to sell to our people. J. S. Larocque and a man whom he took with him to seek his wife at the Mission returned in the evening they met the above two men a short way from the Mission who told them that she was not there nor that they had heard nothing of her.

Thursday 18 Stormy cold weather. Raised camp and proceeded over a succession of hills 15 miles Westerly to the sea shore and along the shore to the Russian river, which we crossed immediately, and encamped. Here we met the governor[155] of the Russian establishment he objected to our passing his establishment and said there was no road except right past the fort we told him that we meant[?] to pass but that we meant to pass it at a distance, he was told that our two nations were at peace and that we did not see any reasons for his objections and that we must pass. he then said that as there was no other way he would allow us to pass [words obliterated] to accompany him [words obliterated] it was after dark when we arrived. I took two men with me and left Michelle to come on with the camp in the morning. The governor speaks but a few words of French, so that we had not much conversation, he treated me very politely.

Friday 19 Raw cold weather. The camp passed the fort past noon & proceeded 5 miles farther on, where we encamped, the governor and a number of his people accompanied us to the encampment, he invited me to dinner with him at the fort in the evening. I returned to the camp in the evening. he had been along the 100 miles on discovering the road we are going, he represents the road as passable but intrenched by a great number of deep gullies which are difficult to pass. There are also some points of woods.

Saturday 20 Heavy rain all day. The bad weather deterred us from raising camp. This is against us as there is not much grass for the horses.

Sunday 21 Thick fog all day. Raised camp and proceeded along the shore 18 miles W.N.W. had to cross a number of deep gullies which greatly retarded our progress. The road lies along the shore here the shore is rugged[?] and rocky and the hills which approach[?] close to the shore are in several places[?] wooded with pine & other trees that[?] I do not know. There is a narrow . . . along the shore with little wood . . . in spots here are the . . .

Monday 22 Thick fog all day. Continued our route about 12 miles W.N.W. The road the same as yesterday, but where we are encamped a few miles from a small river[156] there is a pretty large plain and good feeding for the horses. In crossing a steep gulley a horse belonging to A. Masseau fell down the steep side and broke his leg. Some of the people were on to the river but saw no signs of beaver it is so rocky and thickly wooded that they could not ascend it.

Tuesday 23 Heavy rain most part of the day. Did not move camp on account of the bad weather and that the people might examine the river farther up to see if there were any beaver. A number of them therefore crossed the hill & fell upon the river above, but not a vestige of a beaver though it appears remarkably well adapted for them. Two deer were killed. The deer here are of a very small size. There are also some tracks of elk.

Wednesday 24 Raw cold weather. Raised camp and proceeded 4 miles to the river, and spent so much time crossing it that we encamped on the North bank. We found it nearer[?] where it falls into the sea but had to go a good way along the foot of steep rocks in the water before we could ascend. Two horses that attempted to swim across with their loads were drowned, one belonging to A. Carson[?] but he recovered his property, the other belonged to L. Andre but he was too long of getting the horse dragged ashore and he was carried out to sea with all his traps upon him, which is a serious loss. M. Laframboise also lost a foal the current swept it out to sea & it could not get ashore. The river is but small, but the rain yesterday had raised it a good deal. The young men killed two seals in the afternoon, they also killed a sea Otter but could not get it.

Thursday 25 Fine, clear weather. Continued our route 10 miles N.W. along the coast. The road the same as before but more woody and the gullies more numerous, and it takes a great deal of time to cross them. The hunters were out in the afternoon & killed 2 elk and 8 deer.

Friday 26 Raw, cold weather. Continued our journey 11 Miles N.W. The road the same as yesterday. We are encamped near another small river.[157] Some of the people were on ahead yesterday but saw no signs of beaver in it. We had some very bad gullies to cross today Several horses fell down the steep side of one of them, one fell into a hole among the rocks in the little river and could not be got out it belonged to A. Deschamp & had to be killed. A. Quesnelle lost a horse loaded with the most of his luggage and his beaver he is gone in[?] search of him and has not yet returned[?] The people were out hunting and killed several elk and some deer.

Saturday 27 Cloudy raw cold weather. Did not raise camp in order that Quesnell might seek his horse, he arrived in the evening[?] without finding him, he went off immediately with a number of the people to aid him and found him standing beside his load which had fallen off him in one of the gullies, luckily the bridle was tied to one of the bales[?] or likely the load never would have been found. Some of the people were out hunting and killed a few elk & deer. One of the men was on ahead examining the road, there are three rivers no great distance apart,[158] but he did not perceive any signs of beaver in them.

Sunday 28 Raw cold weather. Continued our journey N.W. along the coast 12 Miles. The road much the same as usual a number of deep gullies to pass and 3 rivers but no appearance of any beaver in them, though two of them are pretty large and apparently well adapted for beaver. It is probable they take their water far off in the first range of Mountains and that there is little or no water in them during the dry season, tho' at present they are so deep that it is enough to ford them with horses.

Monday 29 Weather stormy, in the middle of the day. Proceeded on our route 9 Miles N.W. Two middling sized rivers[159] & several gullies to cross. Very steep hills on both sides of the river, otherwise the road pretty good. Hitherto the shore has been rocky & steep, part of the way yesterday and today the banks are gravelly and steep. The mountains are a little farther from the shore, and the lower ones without woods. The hunters killed some elk and deer. Animals are pretty numerous in the woods and along the shore. One of the men, J. S. Larocque, whose wife ran off from him on the 16th, has not come up to the camp and is suspected to have gone off after his wife, he did not tell any one his intention but from some of his observations and the arrangements he made about having his horses & little things taken on it is thought he means to return if he finds the wife. Since she left him he has been like a fool and not knowing what to do with himself & the people who were nearest him say that he ate and slept very little, he took some little things with him. The road by which the Americans fell upon the coast is near our encampment,[160] they are gone on to the Northward. They remained a little ahead of this place a considerable time, probably while their Master went to the Russians.

Tuesday 30 Stormy weather. Continued our journey 12 miles N.W. along the coast, & had to cross two pretty large rivers,[161] and several gullies, the most of the people crossed the last river where we are encamped on rafts. The others found two places which they were able to ford at low water. The thick woods appear closer to the shore here than for some days past and the shore is in places steep and rocky, There are several deep pits formed [words obliterated] the shore where the sea enters by a subterranean passage. This was a hard & fatiguing day on both people and horses. Passed a band of Indians a little behind. There is a band near where we are encamped. These are the only Natives we have seen since we left the Russians except one band a few days ago. These Indians are not shy but come to us without hesitation and assisted the people to make their rafts and carry their things, there might be in all 35 to 40 men, the band which we passed behind might be about the same number.[162] These people have the same appearance as those we saw in the Bonaventura valley, their only clothing consists of a small blanket fastened about the body. The party we saw in the morning had no arms but sticks, these we met here had some bows and arrows of an extraordinary length and very short knives made of stone. Their blankets are principally made of brown[?] hare or rabbit skins. These animals are not found in a thick woody country, but in an open country among tufts of brushwood, so that it is probable that there are plains where these Indians reside behind the mountains not far off and that they only come here at this season to collect shell fish on which they are now living. We were able to obtain no information from them respecting the road or whether any beaver in this river or any where near us.

May 1833 Wedy. 1 Stormy weather afterpart of the day. Did not raise camp in order that the people might ascend the river and examine whether there were any beaver. A number of them went but could see no signs of beaver, it is very small above and the tide runs much farther up than in any of the other rivers we have passed. The hills on both sides are so steep and thicketty that it is scarcely possible to approach it to ascertain whether there are beaver or not. Several marks of Otters were seen which is a sign that there are fish. Some of the men were sent on ahead to visit the road. they returned in the evening & report that it is as usual some deep gullies to pass. I suspect they amused themselves hunting and did not go very far. The hunters killed some elk & deer.

Thursday 2 Raw cold, stormy weather. Continued our journey 10 miles N.N.W. Three deep gullies in our way, We encamped on a bleak point, & found afterwards that we were near a river which we can only pass at low water.—during this days journey the woods are closer to the shore than some days past and the ground in places swampy. The Indians who were near our last station had gone off into the woods this morning, and [word obliterated] of Acorns were found about their camp, so that it is probable a country wooded with oak is not far off.

Friday 3 Heavy rain during the afterpart of the day and stormy. —Had all hands up by daylight caught and loaded the [words obliterated] and proceeded on to the river[163] which we crossed by 8 o'clock before the tide was too high all but one family which remained behind seeking some horses which were astray, and did not get across till the evening tide.

We encamped a little way from the river on account of the bad weather and to wait for the people behind. Marched about 6 miles. The people were out hunting & killed 3 elk and 8 deer, one of the men also shot an Otter in the river. No signs of beaver are to be seen in it tho' it appears well adapted for them. After proceeding a short way up the rivers the banks are so steep and so thicketty that the men find it almost impossible to examine them as there are no cut wood found carried down by the current it is probable there are no beaver in them even towards their heads; it is likely the most of them have very little water in them above the high water mark during the dry season.

Saturday 4 Stormy showry weather. Raised camp and proceeded 11 Miles N.W. round a sandy bay,[164] the road good today, crossed two small rivers, the woods here are farther from the shore than these days past, but the end of the mountain seems to strike into the sea ahead of us.— Some of the men were on ahead examining the road, which in places is represented as bad, some deep gullies to pass. Passed several Indian lodges which seem . . . . inhabited, the Natives . . . . approach,—They appear . . . . they found only one or two men together. One of the men L. Kanota who was ahead examining the road yesterday on returning fell in with 15 or 20 of them. They immediately took to their bows and arrows but on his taking the cover off his rifle to fire upon them they desisted.

Sunday 5 Lowering weather not so stormy as these days past. Continued our route 10 Miles N. Except one deep gulley & two steep hills which we had to pass, the road was very good, it lay through a fine plain of rich land extending 500 or 600 yards from the shore to the foot of the hills whose sloping sides next the sea are without wood and covered with fine grass. The woods, mostly tall pine begins on the tops of the hills and continues backwards. A little ahead of us the hills appear much steeper and close to the sea shore, there are three or four points that seems to jut into the sea. Sent two men on ahead to examine the road, they report that the road lies close along the shore round a rock[165] and cannot be passed but at low water and that they had to return the tide being in. Passed several Indian lodges, but the Indians had all run off on our appearance. The hunters killed some deer.

Monday 6 Drizzling rain and heavy showers all day. The weather was unfavourable to raise camp moreover we were induced to stop . . . . to send ahead to examine the road . . . . and three men . . . . and returned in . . . road as examined . . . so that it is doubtful whether we will be able to pass with our party; they went on about 12 miles along the brow of the hills and had to cross three gullies very deep and their sides so exceedingly steep that it was with difficulty they could clamber up them.[166] The weather was so foggy that they could see no distance so that they might judge of the appearance of the country. Some of the people were out hunting behind the mountains to the Eastward & represent that the country has a pretty good appearance thickly timbered with oak and pine & that there are small plains; but the fog prevented them from seeing any great distance. J. S. Larocque who went off on the 29th ult returned with his wife. he found her at the Mission which he left five days ago, he has traveled well.

Tuesday 7 Fine weather. Did not raise camp in order to send people out again to discover the road. accordingly Michel & 4 men went on again along the coast and have not yet returned. L. Kanota and three men struck into the mountains to the Eastward, they returned in the evening and report that the country behind the mountain has a good appearance and, is in many places clear of woods. There are rugged hills and deep ravines to cross but they are passable but in places much embarrassed with underwood, through which a road must be cut.

Wednesday 8 Fine weather. Did not raise camp waiting for Michelle, he arrived in the evening, and reports that as he advanced the gullies became more frequent and many of them so very deep and steep in the sides nearly perpendicular,[167] that notwithstanding there is no wood or stones but the sides clay & covered with grass; it is with much difficulty the light horses are able to climb up them. We might probably in time be able to pass with our camp but it would take so long that we have determined to cut across the mountain and pass along behind them where we expect the deep ravines will not be so frequent.

Thursday 9 Blowing fresh part of the day, but fine weather. Raised camp and ascended a steep mountain which we crossed a distance of 12 miles N.N.E. and encamped on a small spot on the brow of the hill pretty clear of woods but with barely enough of water for the horses. The road through thick woods & for a woody country the road was not bad. L. Kanota went ahead to examine the road, & reports that where we have to pass tomorrow is very rugged & much encumbered with underwood.

Friday 10 Fine weather. Continued our route 9 miles N.N.E. & encamped on a pretty large river,[168] The road very rugged and in places difficult, tho' a party of men were sent ahead of the camp to cut the wood and clear the way.—The river where we are encamped appears remarkably well adapted for beaver yet there is not the least appearance of any ever having been in it. The men who were sent ahead to examine the road report that where we have to pass tomorrow is in places very bad but that the country begins to have a better appearance, many little plains & the woods not so thick but still very hilly.

Saturday 11 Fine weather. Continued our route 10 miles N.N.E. up a small fork of the river, the road very rugged and much encumbered with underwood several steep points of hills to pass, and many places were very difficult notwithstanding some men were ahead clearing a road. The country is beginning to have a much better appearance, the woods are becoming much clearer with here & there little plains but the country is so very hilly that one can't see to any very great distance. The people killed a few deer, there are signs of them being pretty numerous about here. Some of the people who were ahead examining the road saw a pretty large party of Indians, they took to their bows & arrows instantly, probably they look upon all strangers as enemies.

Sunday 12 Fine weather. Did not raise camp.[169] Two parties were sent ahead to examine the road, and report that the country to the S.E. appears pretty good, but toward the N.E. it is very rugged, but to the Eastward [illegible word] it appears more passable.—Not falling in with beaver along the coast as we expected we have arranged to divide the party, Michelle and his people to proceed on along the coast, while I return with the others [words obliterated] whether any thing can be done on [the way to the] valley, and there when we get to it. It was always our plan to separate the people the first large river we found where there were any beaver & where we could do so by giving the people all an equal chance and not creating any jealousies among them, but the bad road we have passed and not finding any beaver discouraged the men so that a party of them desired permission to return and the opportunity was embraced of separating the parties. We are very short of ammunition which is much against us; it requires a great deal to feed so many people, particularly, when, as at present, there is only deer to be had.

Monday 13 Fine weather. Separated the people this morning. I with my party cut across a steep hill and ascended the fork on which we were encamped 11 Miles S.E. The road very rugged the forepart of the day afterwards it was more level but through thick woods. Michelle & party came on a piece the same road, and will have to take to the E. and N.E. & cross a mountain on which there is some snow, beyond this mountain it is expected he will fall upon Smith's road & a better country. Michelle's party amounts to 30 Men, 17 Whites & 13 Indians [words obliterated] party amounts to 33 Men, 27 Whites & 6 Indians. Michelle reckons his party [words obliterated] along the coast.—

Tuesday 14 Frost in the morning, showery afternoon. Continued our journey to the little fork and across a height [words obliterated] small fork which falls into a river that runs toward the N.W.[170] along the side of the snowy Mountains. The road very hilly and rugged, but the woods pretty clear & not much encumbered with underwood,—fortunately we find good feeding for the horses.—We marched about 12 Miles S.E. today. Michelle and party are encamped a little on this side of our last station here they expect to be able to strike along the Mountain to the N.E. There are a great many Indians in the mountains, a party of forty came to our camp in the evening, a few of them had bows & arrows & spears the others were only armed with stones. They do not appear ill disposed at least when the people are all together, they are afraid of the horses. 5 deer killed.

Wednesday 15 Frost in the night, fine weather afterwards. Continued our journey 14 Miles S.E. up the river into which the fork we came down yesterday falls, to a swampy plain of considerable extent the end of which is a lake, through which the little fork runs. The road very hilly but not thicketty. On account of the hilliness of the road this was a severe day both on horses and people. This fork in many places seems well adapted for beaver yet there are no marks of any ever having been in it. Deer are very numerous, the hunters killed several. Fresh tracks of elk were seen but none killed. There are a great many Indians encamped about this place, two large parties of whom came to visit us. No information could be obtained from them either regarding the road or where beaver were to be found. 5 deer killed.

Thursday 16 Sharp frost in the night, fine weather during the day. Continued our journey over another range of rugged hills and down a small fork which runs to the S.E. 12 miles S.E. For a woody rugged hilly country the road good. Encamped where there is good feeding for the horses on the north side of a hill pretty clear of wood, on the S. side of the hills where there is little wood the grass is already becoming dry and burnt up with the sun. We were not aware of any Indians being near us when we encamped, in a short time a number of them came to us from a large village which is a short way below us. The hunters killed some deer they are very numerous about here. 6 deer & 1 bear killed.

Friday 17 Fine weather, very warm until toward evening when a breeze of wind sprang up & rendered the heat more supportable. Continued our journey 10 miles S.E. down the river. The road good. Here we found the tracks of our people when they passed this way when they were sent after the Americans in March last. This is considered to be the Russian river which falls into the sea a little to the Southward of the Russian Establishment.[171] Some beaver are supposed to be in the lower part of this river, I arranged a party of the men to pass that way & endeavour to take what beaver are in it while with the rest of the people and the families I proceed to the valley by the shortest route I can.—Late last night after all were in bed an Umquah Indian arrived from Michel's camp, it seems he had a quarrel with the man he was with. [illegible words] and came off and left him. He states that they passed a very rugged road but that he had got within sight of a river which one of his Indians recognized as a fork of the Sorty[Sasty?].—7 deer killed.

Saturday 18 Very warm weather. Sent off 10 men & 4 Indians down the river to trap the lower part of it. Afterwards we raised camp and proceeded up one of the forks 12 Miles E.N.E. to near the head of the fork, the road very hilly the most part of the day, & very hard & gravelly & very severe on the horses feet. Passed an Indian village and we are encamped not far off from another, indeed they are scattered about every where through the mountains. The hunters killed some deer, they are numerous, here, there are also a great many bear tracks.–2 deer & 1 bear killed.

Sunday 19 Very warm weather. Continued our route 13 miles E. across a range of hills, to near the head of a large lake,[172] The road hilly but good travelling. The hunters killed 11 deer. There are a band of Indians encamped a little below us.

Monday 20 Fine weather, a breeze of wind forepart of the day. Continued our journey 15 miles E.S.E. along the S. side of the lake, the road good, but hilly the forepart of the day.–There are two large camps of Indians not far from us. The hunters killed 3 elk & 4 chivereau.

Tuesday 21 Overcast, fine cool weather. Did not raise camp in order that the people might hunt elk. Some of the people saw a good many yesterday evening, accordingly some of the people went after them but could not find them, towards the mountains the . . . . thickly and difficult to hunt in . . . . dangerous on account of . . . . very numerous, and at this season very ready to attack any one that comes within their reach. In the evening the men who were sent off on the 18th returned. about midday yesterday at the entrance of an apparently fine valley[173] they were met by an immense number of Indians all armed with bows & spears with their faces blackened and war caps of feathers on their heads & raised such a hideous war yell, and had such a hostile appearance, (indeed they fired 3 arrows, at them,)–that the men did not deem it prudent to advance but turned about & retreated, while the Indians were endeavouring to surround them. The situation the Indians had chosen was among woods and long grass & bushes and was unfavourable for acting on horseback. The men consider themselves fortunate in getting safe off. They had before this passed several large villages without being molested, or the Indians appearing any way ill disposed, here they saw no village nor women but only armed men, of which there were great numbers advancing from every direction below. On their return they lost 3 horses one belonging to J. Cornoyer, one to L. Boisvant, & one to G. R. Rocque with 8 traps on each and a variety of other little baggage, the horses it seems took fright & ran off and were not gone after with sufficient promptness, so that night came on . . . . and they could not be found afterwards . . . . no motive the Indians would have for coming in such a hostile . . . . they are probably a very numerous party of very ill disposed scoundrels who are always committing depredations on the Spaniards and Russians, and whom their people frequently attempt to punish, wherefore they probably look upon all whites as enemies.[174] I had hoped that a few beaver would have been caught by this party, but they have failed, the country had a fine appearance when they turned back but it is likely the distance to the sea was not great, the river also was not large & on account of such numbers of Indians it is probable not many beaver would have been found.

Wednesday 22 Cloudy fine weather.—Continued our route 14 miles E.S.E. up a mountain & encamped near the height of land where we found barely sufficient water for our horses. The road a considerable part of the day very rugged and strewed with flint stones[?] very sharp and severe on the horses feet.—Deer are very numerous, there are also a good many tracks of elk.—

Thursday 23 Fine weather.—Continued our journey down the mountain to a river which we followed a considerable distance and encamped on a fine plain.[175] Our course was about 16 miles E.S.E. The road down the hill very rugged and, in many places so thicketty that the branches were likely to tear the clothes off the people & the skin off the horses; there were also some places very stony and laming the horses feet.—4 elk and 2 deer were killed & 2 bears.—

Friday 24 Fine weather. Proceeded on our journey 10 miles E.S.E. to another small fork.[176] The road lay down several hills separated by small valleys some of them lakes. places very stony. Two men and two Indians set out this morning to cross the mountains to the Southward, to hunt the head of a small fork in which we found a few beaver when we passed the Mission.

Saturday 25 Fine warm weather. Continued our route, 12 miles E. to another fork of the [river] we fell upon a few days ago.[177] The road the greater part of the way very stony & gravelly which for the horses feet is as bad as the stones. The men who started yesterday returned, they found the road across the Mountain so stony & bad that they could not pass.—

Sunday 26 Fine weather.—Continued our journey 18 miles E. over a very steep and rugged mountain and down the river to near our station of 18th March.[178] The road stony, several of the horses are lame.—Here we found some Indians which are the first we have seen since the 20th. We saw their fresh tracks frequently but they always fled on our approach.—The hunters were out but without success. Scarcely a track of a deer to be seen, notwithstanding they were so numerous in the mountains.—Since we passed the Mission we have passed a very rugged country & exceeding bad roads and very little for our trouble. Our horses are still in good order but a great many of them are nearly knocked up with some [illegible word] their hoofs are much worn with the stony hard road. Many of the people are nearly out of provisions as what little they had is done.—

Monday 27 Fine weather.–Continued our journey down the river[179] E.S.E. 18 miles to near where the woods terminate and the country is plain. The road the most of the day lay through clear oak timber, and very good. Passed two Indian villages, at the last one there were four Indians not long since from the Mission, probably they are deserters.–An Indian belonging to a village near where we were encamped last night stole an axe which was not missed till it was brought back by some of his people who took it from him. The hunters were out & killed 4 Antelopes and a deer, they saw very little signs of elk.–Some of the men who were ahead two days ago with their traps returned without finding any beaver.–

Tuesday 28 Fine warm weather. Raised camp and directed our course to the big river, but in two places where we attempted to pass the ground was so soft and swampy that we could not go on, and in attempting another place farther to the Northward we got entangled in such a thicket of willows and other bushes that being apprehensive we would not find water to encamp, we turned back and after upwards of 20 miles hard marching encamped near our last nights station. The hunters were out & killed 3 elk and an antelope. They found a band of elk and tried to run them with their best horses but could take very little of them[?], the horses feet are so sore and the plains so hard that they cannot come up with the elk.

Wednesday 29 Fine warm weather.–Raised camp and crossed the river[180] and a belt of woods on its north bank and then fell on a fine plain which continued to the big river where we encamped at the end of 15 miles march north.[181]–The river is very high & we will probably have difficulty crossing it.–The hunters were out, but without success. There are some tracks of elk but they hide in the swamps among the tall bulrushes where it is very difficult to find them and where it is dangerous to go on account of the bears which also frequent these places. There are also tracks of deer and antelopes.–There is an Indian village a little below us, and an abandoned village a little above us.

Thursday 30 Sultry weather.–Did not raise camp. Deeming this a good situation to make canoes, sent the people to seek wood, which they have found, and some of them have felled their trees.–I have arranged the men into parties of three two to hunt in a canoe and one to remain for the protection of the camp.–Some of the men were out hunting and killed 8 elk, 5 deer & 1 Antelope.–

Friday 31 Overcast lowering weather.–All hands busy at their canoes, there are eight under way.–

June 1833 Satdy 1 Stormy weather.–Some light rain during the day.–The men busy at the canoes.–We are much annoyed with moscatoes, they are very numerous.–The river has become very muddy today, yet the water does not rise but remains at the same height since we have been here.—The Indians are taking some small fish, but no salmon are observed among them perhaps the water is too high to admit of their taking any. The hunters killed 3 antelopes, one elk & a deer.

Sunday 2 Stormy weather.—The hunters killed only one antelope. One of the men F. Champaigne went to hunt in the afternoon and observed some elk coming out of the swamp to feed and pursued two of them when his horse fell and was killed on the spot, he fortunately escaped himself unhurt.

Monday 3 Stormy weather, but very warm.—The canoes were all finished except one, the men who are at it spoiled two or three trees which retarded them later than the rest. An elk & 4 deer were killed today.—

Tuesday 4 Stormy warm weather. Were it not for the wind the heat would be oppressive, [illegible word] Moscatoes are like to devour us in every situation that is sheltered a little from the wind. The river has fallen a foot and a half within these few days. The people finishing out and drying their canoes. Some of them aiding the others who are not yet done. . . . 2 deer & 2 elk killed.—

Wednesday 5 Warm stormy weather.—The last canoe was finished . . . . The Indians set fire to their old . . . . a little above us and notwithstanding the earliness of the season the grass & herbage is so dry that the fire ran over a considerable extent of the plain.[182] Some of the people were out hunting and killed 1 elk and 1 antelope.

Thursday 6 Fine weather.—Some of the horses were astray in the morning & it was late in the day when they were found, after which we raised camp and proceeded down the river, (which takes a great bend here, to the North) to below feather river where the men who descended the river with the canoes met us, here we crossed the river below a large Indian camp. Notwithstanding we had the canoes it was late by the time we had all [got] across. The river is very high and after the junction of feather river much wider than above. This was a busy day, and were much annoyed during the heat of the day by sandflies and now by swarms of Musquitoes which are like to devour us. The distance we made down the river was about 10 miles N.E. the road good, a part of the way through thick woods which during the high water in the winter were overflowed.

Friday 7 Fine weather.—Continued our route down the river and then across a point where we found ourselves bearing toward [?] a lake in the form of a horseshoe . . . . so that we can neither get to the river[?] nor out to the plains until we return[?] back the road we came, where we are encamped is close to the river, however the canoe people . . . . us but they . . . . There is a large camp of Indians on the lake opposite to us.—Where we had to encamp there is one solitary tree of drift wood to furnish fuel for all the camp, and not much grass for the horses, and the water we have to drink is luke warm.—The Indians are fishing in the lake.—We marched 17 miles S.E. When Mr. McLeod's[183] party passed this way this lake was dry.—The hunters killed 2 deer and an elk, there is very little marks of elk here.—

Saturday 8 Fine weather.—Returned back more than half the way we came yesterday and encamped on the big river, and sent two men to examine the road round the end of the lake by the plain and two to visit along the big river.—We have determined to take the road by the plain as there are some elk that way and none along the river besides the road also appears to be better.—The people fell in with a few elk here and killed 3 of them.

Sunday 9 Very warm weather. Continued our journey round the E side of the lake 20 miles and encamped on a small point of woods. The road good, but the water which we have to drink very indifferent. The hunters killed 10 buck elk very fat. There are a good many elk along this side of the lake.

Monday 10 Continued our route past the lower end of the lake across a point to the big river and on to Camass river[184] where we found the men with the canoes, We crossed the river during the afternoon. This river is now nearly as large as feather river. There is a camp of Indians below but none of them came near us.—We had to ascend the river a good piece before we found a traverse.—

Tuesday 11 Fine weather.—Raised camp and proceeded across a point 8 miles S. to big river which we found here very high, we descended it a piece till we met some of the young men who were ahead & turned us back, there are a number of gullies along the banks of the river which are now full of water & so deep that it would be very difficult to cross them, we will therefore have to pass by the plain along the outside of a lake which runs parallel with the river.—The men with the canoes who had set out in the morning to the bay on a cruise of 5 days, joined us here, the turn round by the river is larger than the road we came.—There were great numbers of sandflies during the day & now in the evening Musquitoes are rising in swarms they were so numerous last night that the people slept very little.—Two elk were killed to day. There are but little marks of them here.

Wednesday 12 Very warm sultry weather.—Raised camp and proceeded down the outside of the lake 10 miles S.S.E. & encamped on a point without wood, the scorched ground as hot as the floor of an oven. Three of our horses, one belonging to the company, one belonging to A. Longtain and one to Jos. Cornoyer were stolen last night, it was not ascertained that they were stolen but supposed they were astray until the camp was under way, the men then went in pursuit but it was too late, they lost their tracks at our last station at Camass river, they were taken by 4 or 5 Indians, had they been missed early in the morning and pursued immediately they might had been come up with. These two last days some fresh tracks of horses hooves[?]. These are the first horses we have lost by theft during the voyage.—One elk and a cabrie were killed. The canoe men proceed on their cruise of 5 days this morning.—they are to meet us at Sand river.—

Thursday 13 Excessive warm weather.—Continued our route 10 miles S. to a swamp at Sand river,[185] the river has overflowed its banks so that we cannot encamp on them nor indeed except in some places approach the river. The lake where we encamped yesterday continues on to the river.—There is pretty good grass here for the horses but the water is very warm & we cannot get to the river where it might be a little colder. The people fell in with a band of elk, but killed only 3 of them.

Friday 14 Very warm weather, until a little breeze of wind sprang up in the evening the heat was oppressive. Did not raise camp. Sent the people out ahunting and to ascertain whether the river could be approached or crossed. For a considerable distance up it is so surrounded with swamps and deep gullies full of water that it cannot be approached but at one or two places & there it will be very difficult to cross it, the other side seems as swampy and as difficult to approach as this side.—The hunters killed 3 antelopes & an elk.—Six Indians visited the camp, they are encamped not far off among the swamps on the banks of the river.—

Saturday 15 A breeze of wind in the night and during the day which rendered the heat more supportable than these days past.—The people out hunting & killed 2 elk.—Some traps were set for beaver. An Indian was engaged to accompany two of the men up the river and point out a traverse, The Indians have felled a tree across the river & made a sort of bridge, which they crossed afoot but the horses had to be swam across. A party of 15 Indians came to the camp, they were clothed [in] white shirts & blankets, a few of them had trousers & two of them shoes[?]; the most of them had handkerchiefs on their heads.—They were particular in telling us that they were Christians and belonged to the Mission of St. Forcie.[186] They encamped a short distance from us and were joined in the evening by a dozen other Indians with blacked faces and armed with bows and arrows their intentions appeared hostile but they made up matters and the two parties are passing the night together.[187]

Sunday 16 Stormy during the day, and unpleasantly cold.—The hunters were out & killed 2 Antelopes—Two beaver and an Otter were taken in the traps which were set yesterday.—The Mission Indians went of[f] in the morning. A few of those about the place visited us during the day.

Monday 17 Fine cool weather. Four of the canoes arrived today, they would have been here yesterday but could not find the place where we are encamped.—They have brought 29 beaver and 9 Otters. One small elk & 2 Antelopes killed.

Tuesday 18 Fine weather. Two more canoes arrived with 10 beaver.—There are some beaver in the bay but they complain that they are very shy and difficult to take. The tide is also against them. 3 elk were killed.

Wednesday 19 Very warm weather. We are like to be devoured by Musquitoes. Only two antelopes were killed. Animals are very scarce here. The canoe people went off again yesterday and today for another cruise of 5 days.

Thursday 20 Excessively warm, not an air of wind the heat is oppressive. In the morning & evening we were dreadfully annoyed by musquitoes. Two of the canoes arrived with 10 beaver & 5 otters. The hunters killed an elk and 2 Antelopes.—The Indians visiting us daily & bringing berries[?] & other things to trade with the people.—

Friday 21 The heat almost unsupportable. Three more canoes arrived with 13 beaver & 5 otters.—only one elk killed. One of the Mission Indians who was here on the 15th paid us another visit. He has been to the Mission since he was here and makes us understand that he has brought a cheese from the priest as a present but that he must carry it to the other captain to present it.—

Saturday 22 Still excessive hot weather. The Musquitoes annoyed us so much that with the heat scarcely an individual has been able to sleep these last 3 nights.—Two more canoes arrived with 14 beaver and 6 otters.—The hunters killed only 2 antelopes.—

Sunday 23 Very warm weather.—All hands passed another sleepless night with the Musquitoes, they allow us no respite. The water here has fallen considerably within these few days. Another canoe arrived with 8 beaver. Four of the canoes went off.—They are allowed six days to meet the camp beyond this river as near the bay as we can go.[188]—The Indians stole two horses last night, one belonging to the Company and one belonging to T. Smith. It was not ascertained that they were stolen until late in the day when they were too far off, to be pursued. It was the Indians from above that took them.

Monday 24 A little breeze of wind, the weather cooler than these days past. Raised camp and proceeded north 9 miles up the river,[189] where the baggage was carried across on a rude bridge constructed by the Indians by felling a tree across the river. The horses were swam across a little below.—We were obliged to come round this way in order to get across the river and descend as near the bay as possible on the other side of it, to be near for the canoes and to find animals for the people on which[?] to subsist. The banks of the river are so overflowed below that we could not cross it.—

Tuesday 25 A breeze of wind during the day, cool during the night in that we were not much troubled with Musquitoes.—Did not raise camp on account of 7 of our horses being stolen by the Indians last night, 2 of M. Laferte, 1 Mare & foal J. Favel, 1 Mare & colt, C. Rondeau, 1 Mare J. Rocquebrin, 1 of Bt. Obichon, 1 L. Quintalle, One was also stolen from L. Kanota but was recovered. The men set off immediately the horses were missed in pursuit of the thieves with orders to shoot them the moment they came up with them, but they were so long of finding the tracks and found it so difficult to follow them in the dry hard plain that they could not come up with the horses nor indeed could they discover what road they were taken. Some Indians assisted in seeking [?] for the horses but it is probable that they were seeking to lead astray instead of aiding. Arranged night guard as we cannot risk the horses longer, and gave the men orders to shoot every Indian they find approaching the camp or the horses in the night.—

Wednesday 26 Fine weather.—Raised camp and proceeded 19 Miles S.E. across a point to the S. fork of the river[190] the afterpart of the day the road lay through oak timber. Some Indians were discovered following the camp, the men on guard are on the lookout for them in the night.—An antelope and 3 deer were killed. No appearance of elk.—The country a little way to the Westward of us is a continuation of swampy lakes of bulrushes all under water, and along this fork are also a number of lakes.—

Thursday 27 Fine weather.—Proceeded a few miles up the river to a pretty good traverse, crossed over with two skin canoes & the lodges, & swam the horses across and proceeded 8 miles down the river to a good feeding place for the horses. This was a hard days work on the people.—In the morning when we raised camp two of the women J. S. Larocque's wife & P. Satakarass' wife deserted, they were not missed until we had reached the traverse, when I sent two of our Indians, Iamkuk & Vorian in pursuit of them, they are not yet returned. Both the women's husbands are off in the canoes. No cause is known for their running off, there were no women in the camp better treated by their husbands. Larocque's wife deserted to the Spaniards in Apl. last, it is unquestioned [?] that she has decoyed the other with her & means to go back to the Mission again. She is a native of the Umpquah the other is an Okanagan.

Friday 28 Fine weather.—Continued our route 15 miles S.W. down the river, through oak timber, to the commencement of the plain opposite the station which we left on the 24th. here the plain is overflowed and we had to encamp at the skirt of the woods about two miles from the river.[191] The hunters were out and killed 3 elk and 5 Antelopes, the elk on being pursued fly into the water where they cannot be followed.—

Heard the firing of some of the canoe men & returned the signal, but as they have not arrived it is probable they did not hear us.—

(To be concluded)

NOTES

142. The mouth of the Sacramento opposite Pittsburg.

143. Moses Carson and Jonathan Trumbull (Juan José) Warner were at Mission San Francisco Solano at Sonoma in the spring of 1833. Both had been members of Ewing Young's brigade.

144. Luis Argüello.

145. The French Canadians in Work's party were Roman Catholics. As yet no missionaries, Protestant or Catholic, had reached the Columbia, so this must have been a signal occasion for the voyageurs, many of whom had been in the Northwest since the Astor expedition of 1810, or even earlier.

146. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo made a tour of inspection to Bodega and Ross in the spring of 1833. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 255.

147. José María de Jesús Gutiérrez was the priest in charge at Mission San Francisco Solano. He had arrived in California about the middle of January with the new governor, José Figueroa.

148. Three separate farms were established under the supervision of the Mission: the horse farm near the Napa junction on Highway 40, the cattle farm at Napa, and the sheep farm near Petaluma.

149. Napa River.

150. Sonoma Creek.

151. Trade goods imported for Indian barter.

152. Upper Petaluma Creek.

153. The dots in this and ensuing paragraphs indicate the omission of words which were obliterated in the manuscript.

154. It is possible that this man was buried in the cemetery at the Mission at Sonoma.

155. The governor of the Russian fort from 1829 to 1836 was Peter Kostromitinoff. He was usually called the manager; the title of governor was reserved for Baron F. P. Wrangell, who was in charge of affairs of the Russian American Company.

156. Gualala River.

157. Garcia River near Point Arena.

158. Probably Alder Creek, Elk Creek, and Greenwood Creek.

159. Navarro and Albion rivers.

160. Interesting information regarding explorations of Ewing Young, who probably broke the trail between Willits and Noyo.

161. Big River and Noyo River.

162. These Indians were coast Pomo who had little contact with the Spanish, and only slightly more with the Russians at Ross. They seem to have been unfamiliar with horses.

163. Ten Mile River.

164. The party is near Rockport.

165. Needle Rock.

156. Work apparently advanced as far as Shelter Cove but due to an ink blot the manuscript cannot be wholly deciphered.

167. Laframboise pushed on toward Hadley and Kings peaks.

168. Mattole River.

169. Between Briceland and Garberville.

170. Eel River.

171. Work seems to have underestimated the distances traveled in this region. He pursued a course up Eel River and over the divide to the headwaters of Russian River, which is recognized by the trappers.

172. Clear Lake.

173. Redwood Valley.

174. Work's party is now in the center of the Pomo Indian territory near Clear Lake. The Pomo were a populous group of tribes and were suspicious of strangers.

175. Near Montecello.

176. Putah Creek.

177. The brigade is approaching the Sacramento Valley from the west and is encamped on the slopes of the Coast Range foothills between Winters and Vacaville. The small fork to the southward is Napa River.

178. On March 18 the brigade was encamped near the headwaters of Suisin Creek.

179. Putah Creek.

180. Putah Creek again.

181. Near what is now Woodland.

182. The Indian custom of firing the grass is widely mentioned in the accounts of early travelers. The purpose was to burn off the dry grass to allow green grass, which attracted grazing animals, to grow.

183. Alexander Roderick McLeod of the Hudson's Bay Company brought a fur hunting party as far as the site of Stockton in 1829.

184. Cosumnes River.

185. Mokelumne River.

186. Mission San Jose.

187. These San Jose Mission Indians were probably a small party of neophytes who had been given permission to return to their old home for a visit. The bridge formed by falling a tree to span the water is a new ethnographic feature. Black face paint often indicates a ceremony in progress, but beyond this possibility nothing can be ascertained as to why the Indians should have been so painted.

188. Old maps show a clear channel through the tules from the site called French Camp to San Francisco Bay.

189. Calaveras River.

190. French Camp Creek.

191. Possibly upstream from the site of the present town of French Camp, which received its name from the French Canadian trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company who continued to occupy this place until 1845.

California Unveiled

Or, Irrefutable Truths Based Upon Numerous Testimonies About That Part of the World

By Treny*

Translated from the French by Desiré Fricot

INTRODUCTION

IN THE midst of the political disturbances, which in recent times paralyzed business in general and appeared to challenge the whole future, an immensely interesting discovery suddenly brought a diversion to the emotions of an unsettled and very uncertain period. The tales that were told about it, carried by all the newspapers of the world, surprised and astonished everyone. Nobody quite believed them because what was said savoured too much of the marvelous; at the same time, nobody absolutely questioned them because people realized how much wealth Nature has scattered over the entire surface of the globe. Everyone was expectant. Enthusiasm hovered between fear and hope, ready to manifest itself as soon official reports concerning this discovery would be available. Waiting as not prolonged. The message of the President of the United States tore the veil and provided the impetus. What had been almost indifference made way for the most genuine, the most absolute and keenest interest. But, in France, any news that concerns the interests of the people or incites their passions is sure to be accepted without examination, and to be welcomed without reflection, as soon as it appears, only to be very quickly set aside amidst public indifference. All that is needed to bring this about is to whisper a few discouraging words in the ears of the most skeptical. The news of the discovery of gold-bearing soil in California followed this rule. One would hardly know today that in North America, between Mexico and the Oregon Territory, there exists a country containing rich gold mines, had not a chain of new circumstances snatched the enthusiastic tales of the early days from the graves where they lay buried in a shroud of fear or selfishness. All that was needed to dispel the doubts concerning these reports was the evidence furnished by numerous facts and by obvious results. No one now can doubt the existence of gold deposits in California, and in spite of the dark pictures that certain organs of our press like to paint of that faraway land, truth is beginning to emerge. The American papers

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*As an introduction to this translation of the rare French pamphlet, *La Californie Dévoilée ou Vérités Irrécusables appuyées sur de nombreux témoignages sur cette partie du globe* (Paris, 1850), an article by Professor Gilbert Chinard, "When the French Came to California," was printed in this *Quarterly*, XXII (December 1943), 289-314.

themselves, well situated to know what is going on in California, add their testimony to the favorable news coming into France through the mails. Certainly truth must have great power over public opinion to cause the papers to abandon the caution they appeared to have imposed upon themselves at first, with reference only to favorable news, but which they quickly set aside when it came to painting the darkest possible pictures of California.

The stories of the workers who have come back from that new land of promise, the letters which have left San Francisco under the seal of honorable business men—everything goes to prove that, originally, only a corner of the veil covering that mysterious and heretofore almost unknown country had been lifted, in spite of the attempts made by specialists to call public attention to the wealth they had found to exist therein. And so, from now on, nobody can doubt the first reports about California; in the dust, as well as in the depth of its soil, in the sand of its rivers, one finds gold! Gold dust, gold nuggets. And that is not all of its wealth, for there is also silver, cinnabar, mercury, platinum, and some claim even diamonds, and what is still better, there is, in addition to those mines, a fertile land which may be compared to the best tillable lands of France. We are mistaken—that comparison cannot be made, because, in France, we can grow plants of only the temperate zone, whereas, in California one can successfully raise the plants of every country and of every clime.

The discovery of the gold mines of California has brought out a prodigious quantity of pamphlets and writings concerning that part of the globe. Everyone has vied in describing the banks of the Sacramento or those of the San Joaquin, the valleys of the Sierra Nevada or the shores of the Pacific; some getting their information from official reports sent to various government departments in France and abroad by the officers or agents who have visited that part of North America, or from books published before the discovery of the mines; others relating what they themselves had seen and observed, all of them purporting to remain within the limits of a geographic or topographic description of the country. It is true that they could only conjecture or guess at the probable quantity of gold which could be extracted in a given time. The mines were still untouched, or very nearly so. But today, since results have been obtained, it is possible to enlighten public opinion by making known the wealth of this favored country. So now, with a calm conscience and supported by authentic documents, we are going to fill the gap unwittingly left by those who have preceded us.

This publication which we offer our readers is accordingly intended to reassure those among them who might feel like going to California but are still hesitant because of some absurd tales. However, we must warn them that the future is positively assured only for those who do not balk at work which is often very hard and which appears much harder to a lone man abandoned to his own resources. Work on the contrary is nothing, or almost nothing, when one works with others and when, through a well conceived, profit sharing organization such as is offered by some companies, one finds oneself in possession of all the apparatus necessary to mine and wash gold, and one is supplied with and assured for the future all of the things strictly necessary during one's stay in California. An organization which unites these two requisites and also permits all the workers to share in a large measure the profits of the company is, therefore, the one that should be chosen in preference to others. Through such an association no doubt is left as to the success of the enterprise, and California will be forced to yield what Nature has bestowed upon her and enrich those who exploit her resources.

Before enumerating the results that have been obtained in working the mines of this new Eldorado, let us first briefly consider the geographic situation of that country, its climate, and the location of its mines.

NEW CALIFORNIA

Geographical and Topographical Situation of California
Its Climate—Known Arable Land
Possibility of Colonization

North of Old California, between the 32nd and 42nd degree of north latitude and the 109th and 127th degree of west longitude, is to be found New California, called by the Americans *Upper California.* It is bounded on the north, by the Territory of Oregon; on the east by the Rocky Mountains; on the south by a diagonal line extending from latitude 32°30′ below San Diego to the head of the Gulf of California, and from there following the course of the Gila, which separates it from the Province of Sonora, to the Rocky Mountains. From north to south, it extends over about 250 leagues, and from west to east, 300 leagues.

Separated from the United States by the Rocky Mountains,[1] it is traversed by two mountain ranges, the Californian mountains [Coast Range] and the Sierra Nevada, which divide it into three parts, distinct from one another in every respect.

The Californian mountains are almost parallel to the shore and not more than 20 to 25 leagues distant from it. They rise about twelve hundred meters above sea level and include both tillable land and wooded sections of marvelous beauty.

The region lying between the shores of the Pacific and the Californian mountains was the only portion of that large country inhabited until recently by Europeans and white people. The ground of that region is very irregular; here and there, one finds many spurs between the main range and the coast hills. Numerous small streams flow in every direction in the valleys of that part of the country, which is the only one where the light of civilization has yet penetrated.

The Sierra Nevada, more to the east and farther inland, is a large mountain range bearing NNW and SSE. It is one of the main branches of the great mountain chain which extends through both Americas. There one finds numerous large, wooded plateaus in the midst of which rise volcanic peaks four or five thousand meters high and covered with snow.

Let us borrow from Commander Wilkes the following extract of the account of a trip, which he published in 1848:

> The Sierra Nevada [says he] rises gradually, step by step, from the western valley, first as small hillocks, whose slopes become steeper and steeper as one approaches the region of eternal snows; this slope, however, is easily accessible as far as the lower limit of the snows.
>
> Because of the great height of these mountains, to be climbed easily it is necessary that their sides present an extremely extended base. Such is indeed the case. The distance from the base to their summit is between 65 and 70 miles (26 to 28 leagues), and their average elevation reaches 8,000 feet (2,400 meters).[2]

It is in the portion extending between the Californian mountains and the Sierra Nevada, that one finds the auriferous mines and the very fertile, tillable land. As in the first part, this second part is furrowed by numerous streams of which the principal ones are the Sacramento and the San Joaquin. Great forests of pine and oak in the north cover large areas and form, so to speak, the boundary between California and Oregon.

Finally, the third part lies between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains and appears to be nothing but a vast desert with sandy plains. In the neighborhood of the salt lake, however, one finds tillable lands and large prairies which spread their green grass as though inviting the workers to come and make use of them.

As to the climate of New California, let us leave its description to a competent authority. Let us open the learned work of Mr. Duflot de Mofras. We will read therein:

> The climate of New California is perfectly healthy. The temperature, on an average, in summer is 28° centigrade [82.04 Fahr.], in August 1841 an exception, the thermometer indicated 38° C. [100.04 Fahr.], an unusual occurrence, but in September, October, and November, the thermometer shows an average of 17 degrees above zero [62.60° Fahrenheit].
>
> Indeed the seasons follow the same sequence as in Europe: the year is divided into two very distinct parts—the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy season begins in October and ends in March. In winter, it rains every day at three o'clock in the afternoon, but seldom during the night. Some mornings in December and January, one may see sleet and white frost. Moreover, the winter is not, comparatively, as cold as that of France, because of the southeast winds which generally prevail during that period of the year.
>
> The dry season begins at the end of March or in the first days of April, and does not end until September or October. Through one of those contradictions of Nature,

> the northwest winds which blow during that period of six months are sometimes cold enough in the middle of summer to oblige the inhabitants to make a fire in the houses along the seacoast. The frequent fogs occurring during that season contribute greatly to the cooling of the atmosphere. These fogs are sometimes so thick that obscurity is almost complete.
>
> Thunder storms are very rare in California, and sometimes one may spend whole years without hearing the roar of thunder. However, the wind storms are very strong on the Coast . . .[3]

"The geographic position of Upper California," says Mr. Auguste Lacoste,[4] "is, without gainsay, one of the most advantageous on the globe."

> The great extent of its coast line and of its valleys gives it the double aspect of an agricultural and a maritime country, with all the advantages thereof. Its temperature, fluctuating between extreme heat and extreme cold, protects it from the plagues which rage in other parts of America; and its climate, which is very similar to that of France, is perfectly adapted to the most delicate constitutions.

From this description of the climate of California it is evident that the working of the gold mines cannot be carried on except in the dry season, that is to say, from March or April to September or October. The rest of the year is consequently a dead season for the miners. But although the gold seekers cannot then work in the gold diggings, it must not be thought that they have nothing to do and that they must fold their arms and wait for the dry season. Does not Nature seem to have foreseen the exploitation of the California mines, and has she not established, as if deliberately, a season that makes work in the mines impossible, so as to induce the workers to cultivate the fertile land? For there is no mistaking that the soil of California is very fertile and very well adapted to agriculture, and if one wishes to cultivate it, it will yield all kinds of produce.

If some miners desire to rest after six months of work and prefer to rely upon imports for what they need, they can take advantage of the vacation Nature gives them, to go to the ports of the Pacific or the new commercial cities that are being built at this moment in the neighborhood of the placers, and there purchase their summer provisions, paying for them with their precious metal which will thence find its way to every corner of the globe.

The most convenient time to start from France for California, therefore, is November or December, or even January. After a sea voyage of a few months (80 days going through Chagres and Panama, 160 days around the Horn) one arrives in March, April, or May, that is to say, at the beginning of the dry season, and may begin work the very next day after his arrival.

Such is the policy of the company, *La Californienne*, a profit sharing society, established for the purpose of working the auriferous ground of California. It has already sent forth its first contingent of working partners. It is going to send a second contingent in December, and a third in January. Each contingent is provided with amalgamating machines for the washing of gold, retorts to distill mercury, crucibles with their furnaces, provisions for the workers, and agricultural implements. When, owing to the seasons, the laborers will not be able to work in the gold mines, they will proceed to establish a colony. This company has an immense advantage over others, that of adding to the working of the mines an export trade, which will enable it easily to provide whatever is necessary to the maintenance of its working partners, and at the same time furnish them the raw materials necessary to colonization. The company has had good reason for extending its operations into various fields, for the day will come, and that before long, when the workers will be so numerous in California that it will not be possible to import enough of the absolutely necessary goods to supply the demand. Then those who have used foresight and have cultivated the fields of California will be fortunate! They will add their products to the supplies received from Europe, deriving immense wealth therefrom.

If the most suitable time for the workers to go to California is November, December, and January, such is not the case for exports, which should arrive when the miners cannot work any more. Therefore, it is in May, June, and July that goods must be shipped in order to arrive in September, October, and November. That is to say, the opposite rule should be followed to that applicable to the workers. To the adverse reports that have been made as to the impossibility of farming in California, or rather about the sterility of the land, we will offer the description given by Mr. Auguste Lacoste in a part of his voyage around the world, as to what he saw with his own eyes when he was traveling under the orders of Mr. de Rosamel:[5]

> The environs of Monterey [he says] are very pleasing to the eye. Magnificent meadows extend right up to the town and far beyond to the hills covered with firs and oaks. Upon those hills, one finds all the vegetation to be found in Europe, but magnified to gigantic proportions. Across the plains rise clumps of massive trees, symmetrically distributed as though an intelligent hand had selected their positions.
>
> Silence reigns supreme in this grand and wonderful region, and one is filled with awe on beholding this mighty land whose virgin soil has not yet been worked by the hand of man. While crowded populations clash on the unfertile soil of Europe, here immense plains have stretched out for centuries under the sun, challenging strong men to come and work them.
>
> . . . .
>
> The province of San Francisco presents every characteristic of a boundless fertility and surpasses even the wonders of Monterey. One always finds the same mighty and varied nature, the same broad and extensive landscapes.
>
> California possesses something more precious than its mines, more solid than its gold: a land fertile and of an incredible fruitfulness. The richest mines will be worked out in time, but the soil keeps everlastingly its youth and will acquire, under the hand of man, an ever-increasing value. Experience shows that while the English and Portuguese colonies, based upon the principle of agricultural development, attained a boundless prosperity, the Spanish settlements, established for the sole purpose of extracting metals, after having enriched Europe, fell into the most profound misery.

> Therefore, from the point of view of colonization, California offers a great field for observation and study.
>
> . . . .
>
> The most favorable sections for settlement are found to the north and west of the Bay of San Francisco, upon the lands bordering on it and on the banks of the Sacramento and its tributaries. These are the best lands, and they have a climate best adapted to Europeans. The soil is especially suited to the growing of grain and the raising of cattle. The vast expanse of fertile ground, the ease with which water may be obtained from all the streams flowing into the bay, the yearly rainfall make this part of California an essentially agricultural country. It is much superior, as far as soil is concerned, to the southern district and it is more thickly settled.
>
> The natives are of a mild and inoffensive disposition. There is no cause to fear that they may oppose the establishment of colonies. Up to now, few strangers have settled in California. Most of those who chanced to come were either sailors or deserters, and the few workmen who landed were welcomed by the inhabitants and for the most part, have married there.
>
> As a rule, the prodigiously fertile soil is able to produce an abundance of grain and fruit of every description. The coast is healthy, not dangerous, and its harbors are excellent. Numerous rivers water its lands, and the hills that rise along the seaboard on the northeast protect it against the only winds that might be obnoxious.

Let us add to this picture a few extracts from an article by Mr. Hippolyte Ferry,[6] published last October, in *La Patrie:*

> The Sierra Nevada and the Californian mountains, coming together in the south, form the magnificent Tulare valley watered by the San Joaquin River. Like the Nile, this river has annual floods, doubtless on a lesser scale, but contributing not a little to the growth of a wonderful vegetation all over its watershed.
>
> The Tulare valley contains a vast expanse of tillable land; its forests furnish magnificent lumber.
>
> There may be found large savannahs or natural meadows, in which graze huge herds of deer, buffalo and wild horses.
>
> But so varied are the aspects of that vast expanse, that the plants of our climate and those of the tropics can be cultivated with equal success.
>
> The Tulare valley terminates in the latitude of the Bay of San Francisco. Measured at its longest part, it is about 200 miles[7] from the southeast to the northwest, and its greatest width is 100 miles.

May we further add what Major Wilkes says in his narrative of his trip to California. Here it is:

"All that part of the Sierra," says he, "contains ground well adapted for agriculture. The numerous little streams that water it are not one of the least advantages offered to those farmers who would like to settle in this clime."

Thus New California contains not only gold mines, but also a vast expanse of very fertile, tillable land, which may be easily worked and offers immense resources to these gold seekers willing to cultivate it.

Let us hasten to admit that all of Upper California is not fit for agriculture. It can be cultivated only in that portion lying between the Pacific and the Sierra Nevada, and principally in the mining region. There is between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains a vast area comprising at least two-thirds of California, which seems to be composed of volcanic debris, burnt rocks, sandstone and calcareous deposits. However, one should not assert that this part of California is not arable, for it has not yet been sufficiently explored to enable one to form an opinion on the subject. It, therefore, can only be conjectured that the sandy plains which have been seen, in all are not very promising as agricultural lands.

In addition, New California is very favorably situated to establish intercourse with every part of the globe, and especially with the new republics that border the Pacific. These countries, situated in the tropics, generally lack many products that California can supply at more advantageous prices than those paid to the merchants of European countries. It is certain, therefore, that there is an outlet for the flour, oil, hides, tallow, potatoes, wine, brandy, olives, linen, hemp, lumber, and many other commodities which can readily be supplied by California, once its soil is intelligently cultivated.

We, therefore, earnestly advise the many travelers who are going to California to prospect for gold, to take advantage of the six winter months during which they cannot work in the mines and engage in the task of colonizing the country, work which can be carried on easily during the rainy season. They might, and this we strongly recommend, organize themselves into profit-sharing companies, some members of which would be working the mines, while others would devote themselves to establishing colonies, and within a very few years their efforts would be crowned with complete success.

To invite idle capital to contribute to the development of the land of California is most advisable. Over there, investments would be rewarded by great profits if they combined with the labor of the agriculturist. It is quite surprising that capitalists did not come forward to organize a company having for its exclusive object the colonization of the banks of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin, as soon as the official news reached France. Too much emphasis, therefore, cannot be placed upon the immense advantages offered by the company, *La Californienne.* Placed under altogether exceptional conditions and owning gold mines, this company will be able usefully to employ some of its working partners in the cultivation of the land, while others will be working in the mines. Courage, directors and workers of *La Californienne*, under such conditions, your success cannot be doubted!

THE PLACERS

The gold mines of California known at the present time are located within a triangle formed on one side by the San Joaquin River, on another by the Sacramento, and on the third side by the Sierra Nevada. It is a vast rolling plain, through which run numerous streams. Its distance from San

Francisco is about forty leagues. Formerly deserted, this plain is, at this writing, a vast workshop where more than one hundred thousand workmen from every country have congregated. Chileans, Peruvians, Americans, Brazilians, Spaniards, Portuguese, English, Germans, French, etc. are working side by side in the land of promise. Everyone wants his share of the hidden wealth of California, everyone wishes to become a capitalist.

Four commercial towns are now being constructed. Others will soon be started in the mining region, on the banks of the Sacramento, of the San Joaquin, and along the other rivers which flow through the placers.

The country in which gold is found extends over all of the Tulare valley, that is, over an area of 3,240 square leagues. No one, however, can state positively that the mines are all enclosed within the limits we have assigned to them. There is every reason to believe, on the contrary, that they extend to the foothills of the Californian mountains and into the Sierra Nevada toward the south. It is even positively stated today that there are mines in the Province of Sonora, which is a Mexican dependency; the Gila is loaded with gold, like the Sacramento and the San Joaquin. The whole truth is not yet known; one may wonder whether it ever will be.

Letters coming to us either directly or through American or English papers, inform us in a most positive manner of the wealth of the mines, and tell us of the first work that has been done and the results obtained by the gold seekers. Amazed by these reports we are asking ourselves why the French Government has not encouraged emigration by providing the assistance of the merchant marine and the navy. In our ports we see idle ships waiting to be chartered; they could be advantageously used to promote emigration, and the profit would very soon fall into the almost empty coffers of the State. In our cities, there is a surplus of population having no bread, many have no shelter against the inclemency and severity of the weather; and both in the city and in the country there are unfortunates who, in the full vigor of their manhood, hold out their hands for alms, or knock at the doors of the rich; all of them could find over there remunerative work either in hunting for gold or in settling the country. These unfortunate victims of our recent political disturbances who are yearning for freedom could be usefully employed in California. Some will answer that before dreaming of settling that far off country, over which France has no rights whatever, it would be better to think of Africa. That is true, but it is also true that both enterprises could be undertaken and carried on simultaneously. Furthermore, we are in duty bound to do this, and for the following reason:

France can no longer hide the deficit in her coffers; the public debt threatens to engulf in bankruptcy whatever capital is left; disaster is inevitable unless a final effort is made to balance receipts and expenses. Well, then! Since it appears impossible to practice an economy that would prevent an unavoidable bankruptcy, let France set aside one or two million to secure the free transportation to California of all available hands, let her obtain from the American Union a grant of land; let these workers exploit this land by hunting for gold and establishing colonies. France can collect from the products of all kinds a certain pro-rata, which at first will repay the money advanced and soon will be large enough to fill the yawning chasm of the deficit in her coffers. There will be enough left so that part of it may be devoted to the colonization of Algeria.

We beg our readers' pardon for having digressed for a moment from the limits we have set for our work, but we have been unable to withhold the cry of our conscience. In a civilized country like France it grieves us to see those who seem to have been placed by Providence at the head of the government to put an end to the evils which are destroying society, slumbering in a perpetual status quo. It grieves us to see about us vigorous men who are eager to work, standing in complete idleness, ever expecting to be called upon to assist in some work and waiting in vain! For willy-nilly, it must be acknowledged that France has too many laborers. Let us hasten to say that this excess of labor exists only because French agriculture appears to be in a state of lethargy and will find itself, upon awakening, on the brink of an abyss. It will be lucky if it awakens in time so as not to be plunged, with everything pertaining to it, into an utter disintegration. Oh! if agriculture had not been thwarted in its efforts, if it had found at its side the firm and vigilant arm of the government, whatever it might have been, it would have emerged victorious from the struggle, and French soil, conquered by the efforts of the farmers, would have brought about what we are striving for today, and what is vainly looked for elsewhere, the extinction of pauperism.

But let us go back to our work and consider the immense resources concealed in the soil of California.

Not to be charged with exaggeration or accused of romancing in order to entice to that far-away land unfortunates who would have stayed at home had it not been for our tales, we will leave the task of making known the richness of the California gold deposits to the letters we receive and to extracts from the American and English papers. Thus we will not have to blame ourselves for having misled by our statements those who decide to emigrate, hoping that with a little easy work they will be able to acquire California gold, but who, having once reached the spot, will be cruelly disappointed upon finding that plenty of hard work is necessary.

The first correspondence that we have to place under the eyes of our readers is that of Mr. Emmanuel Oliveira, envoy of the French government. He may have yielded to the enthusiasm of the scholar and artist, and his recital perhaps has been influenced thereby. This is what we learn from the following letters.

After a few details relative to the arrival at Chagres and Panama, he adds:

Not many days after my arrival at Panama, several sailing vessels cast anchor in the port. Each one of these ships soon had a full complement of passengers; one had 150, another 200, a third 300, and the *Humboldt* took away as many as 400, piled helter skelter on the deck and between decks. It is feared that many of these ships will not reach their destination, since they are overcrowded with passengers and in bad condition. But the speculative operations practiced by Americans leaving New York on the price of tickets, on steamers plying between San Francisco and Panama, has forced the emigrants to be satisfied with whatever means of transportation local speculators offer them. I have heard one of them offering a second-class ticket for sale for one thousand dollars, (5,000 francs) and to show you the eagerness with which people rush toward California, a great many buyers came forward at this price.

It is true that the steamers which are expected daily never arrive. The *Callao*, which anchored in the meantime, confirmed the news that their crews had deserted, but that others had been recruited after painstaking efforts and at great expense, so that steamers would soon be coming into the harbor. On board the *Callao* there were two French business men who were bringing back some Californian gold. I have held in my hand a piece of perfectly pure gold which weighed a kilogram and a half [about three pounds]. One of these Frenchmen, who had left home penniless, was bringing back 60,000 francs, after a stay of six months in California. His companion, who had remained only five months, was bringing back 125,900 francs. The latter had simply confined his efforts to doing business in San Francisco, without going elsewhere. The *Oregon*, reported to be coming by the *Callao*, cast anchor immediately afterwards. She had on board one million in California gold, and a great number of passengers the poorest of whom had made from ten thousand to thirty thousand dollars. The day after the arrival of the *Oregon* came the *Panama*, out of New York, and about which some anxiety had been felt.

The news brought by the *Oregon* fully confirmed what had been said with reference to the golden riches of California; but at the same time it reported that the value of the most necessary articles was still far from diminishing. The emigrants buy everything they find in San Francisco and push on. Those who follow imitate them and go still further. Saddles, harnesses, blankets, camping utensils, and especially rubber garments, always fetch enormous prices.

To give you an idea of the prices at which necessities are sold in San Francisco, I will tell you it is very difficult to secure a dozen eggs for five dollars (25 francs). There are no servants, and it is impossible to hire any at any price. Those who were brought by some emigrants in easy circumstances deserted immediately to go to the placers.

As to the general who governs California, he has to black his boots himself.

On the 22nd of May, the *California*, which had lost its crew like the *Oregon*, finally came into the Bay of Panama. It had hired sailors for twenty-eight to thirty dollars a month, but those sailors agreed to accept those conditions only because they wanted to carry away the gold they had gathered in California. The *California* had aboard the wife of General [Persifor F.] Smith, who was going back to the United States, and eighty other passengers.

A servant in San Francisco who possesses a small cart and mule has rented them for $6,000 a year (30,000 francs). His only work consists in driving the mule, which costs him nothing to feed.

Gold is still more abundant than has been announced in the American papers, but very hard work is necessary to obtain it. The two important points where the miners go are Sutter's Fort, on the Sacramento, and Stockton, on the San Joaquin River.

The price of the passage to either one of these points varies from twenty-five to thirty dollars a person, food not included. The trip, which is made in boats of all kinds, lasts about three days and the passengers have no shelter but the deck of the boat.

Cognac, which is sold in San Francisco for an ounce of gold per bottle, is worth double and treble that amount at the placers. In spite of the great difficulty that one meets in extracting gold, it is everywhere in enormous quantities. I have just seen a piece weighing four kilograms [eight pounds]. It belonged to a sailor who, in partnership with seven of his mates, took out sixty-five thousand dollars (325,000 francs). The other passengers of the *California*, like those of the *Oregon*, each possessed from fifteen thousand to thirty-five thousand dollars.

Great difficulties are experienced by the boats at the time of disembarkation. The crews ordinarily desert on the first or second day. When, by chance, a crew agrees not to desert, the captain must sign a promise to let all the sailors leave for the mines immediately after the landing of passengers, and to wait so as to bring all of them back together, either to Panama or the United States. The captains who have lost their crews must engage common laborers, who are paid at the rate of six or eight dollars a day in addition to their food.

The emigrants who land in San Francisco do almost any kind of work in order to earn the sum necessary for the trip to the mines. It does not take very long to earn the money.

. . . .

EMMANUEL D'OLIVEIRA.

Captain Gabriel Lafond, of Larcy, has just published two confidential letters, which contain precious documents on California. We are giving our readers the two following extracts from this correspondence:

Monterey, April 10, 1849.

My dear Captain:

No doubt, you have been acquainted for several months with the details of the discovery of gold in California; you must have received my previous letters which told you about it at length. Since then, the discoveries have increased; gold has been found in every stream flowing into the Sacramento and the San Joaquin; it has been found in flakes and in nuggets, in the canyons that separate the numerous spurs of the foothills of the snowy Cordilleras. In a recent visit, I have ascertained that gold has been found in all the tributaries from the American River to the Plumex [Feather] River. Thus the gravels of the *Placeres-Secos* (dry places where gold is found) which must be transported on men's backs for a distance of three or four miles to the banks of the rivers where they are to be washed, furnish a daily return of three to four ounces of gold per man. One may, therefore, consider that the gold fields extend to the north as far as the borders of Oregon, and to the south, as far as the headwaters of the San Joaquin, a distance of 160 leagues, a millionth part of which is neither known or touched. Our adventurers have found, outside of the *Placeres-Secos,* other places just as rich, and even richer than these heaps of almost pure gold which have yielded so many millions.

The quantity of gold already in the hands of the inhabitants of California and in those of foreigners, is prodigious. This wealth has increased throughout the winter; more than five hundred houses have been built near the snowy mountains, and 1,500 to 2,000 white men have spent the winter there.

With so much wealth in circulation, commerce has been developed to an extent which you cannot conceive. Shipments upon shipments have been sold at extraordinary prices, and all goods continue to be in demand or are absolutely lacking.

. . . .

New York, May 26, 1849.

(EXTRACT)

California, my dear friend, continues to create excitement in the minds of everyone here. The new discoveries which have been announced up to the first of May, from San Francisco, confirm what had been described four or five months ago. However much exaggeration there may still be, one must confess that undeniably there is gold—much gold. This week a million and a half dollars have been brought to New York by the *Crescent City;* I have seen a large part of it. And so, emigration by land and by sea continues as actively as at the beginning of the rush. Adventurers are moving in caravans by way of the plains and the valley of the Missouri; nearly 3,000 wagons passed through St. Louis last month.

. . . .

On the twentieth of June 1849, Mr. Gould-Buffum, a distinguished publicist who momentarily had deserted his pen for the pick, wrote from San Francisco:

Without doubt, there are in the region of the placers inexhaustible treasures. I have travelled over more than three hundred miles of country and not once have I hunted for gold without finding it in more or less abundant quantity. I have followed both banks of the river for an extent of more than thirty miles, and I have never washed a pan of dirt without finding a certain quantity of gold. Gold is found everywhere! It is scattered "like the blessings of Providence," and all that is needed to obtain it is work.[8]

Now is the turn of the American papers to picture the placers for us:

The rigors of last winter [say all the newspapers] have not prevented the miners from continuing the exploration of the gold fields. The interruption in the arrival of gold and the mail, owing to freezing weather and snowfalls such as had not been seen since 1823, that is to say, for 26 years, may have led to the belief that work had been suspended, but such was not the case. Sheltered in shanties, that is to say, in cabins made of branches and mud, lodged in log cabins—houses made of boards—reduced to eating salt meat, without communication with anyone in the world, and living, in short, under the most wretched conditions imaginable, the adventurers of California, nevertheless, have continued their hard work. These very conditions have contributed to the prospecting of larger surfaces of the gold-bearing soil. Driven away by the storms, a lot of these improvised miners have rushed toward the south, seeking a milder climate, and thus they have discovered that gold is found with an equal abundance as far as the southern border of California, and even on and beyond the Gila River, and as far as the State of Sonora, which is still a Mexican dependency.

On account of this winter campaign, the existence of gold over a space extending more than three hundred leagues had been ascertained. And so, when spring opened up communications and the abundance of gold made it possible, by paying mere sailors the unbelievable wages of five and six hundred francs a month, for some of the ships which had been deserted in port by their crews to remain on the seacoast, there suddenly was presented for export a huge amount of gold the existence of which had not been suspected in California. For instance, it has been figured, as far as it is possible to estimate, that from April 30, 1848, until May 1, 1849, a sum of seven million dollars (36 million 500,000 francs) in gold dust or bars has been exported from California. This is an enormous sum, considering the small number of people who have gathered it. This number, indeed, is not considerable—5,000 or 6,000 men at most; for among them cannot be counted the emigrants who, driven by the "gold yellow fever," have left for California during the early months of this year.

Two months after giving the foregoing news, the same papers, frightened, or rather worried by the increase of the emigration and the results the gold seekers were getting, were painting California in the darkest colors. But they had to abandon these tactics and return to the truth. Thus, one of them, a few days afterward, published in its columns the following extract from a letter:

"I worked on the Middle Fork with indifferent success," said the letter. "However, not a day passed when I did not gather from fifteen to sixteen dollars. When the waters become lower I shall go back to the mines where I expect to find a lot of gold, for I know some very good places."

And farther on, the same newspaper added that everyone working in the placers of the San Joaquin region, and especially those of Sullivan's camp, made twenty-five dollars a day, while some of the more fortunate ones cleaned up two hundred and three hundred dollars a day.

At the beginning of last September, Mr. Perrot, music teacher at Batignolles-Monceaux, No. 40 Avenue de St. Ouen, was kind enough to transmit to us a letter his wife had just received, by way of Havre, from their son, who, yielding to the general enthusiasm, had gone to California. His letter follows:

San Francisco, April 26, 1849.

My very good Mother,

You will be surprised to see the date of my letter, if you have not received my last, of the 27th of December, that I wrote before leaving Chile to come to California.

This country, recently conquered by the Americans, must have caused quite a sensation in Europe because of the richness of its mines. As a consequence, people from all over the world are rushing to it in appalling numbers. Cities grow like mushrooms, and their rapid development, as well as their business activity, will cause this country to play a great part in the world before long.

I have been here only 15 days. I gathered together my last resources to reach this place, firmly resolved either to die here or make a fortune. Oh! If I am to believe what is said, it is rather an easy matter, that is, compared with the difficulties encountered in other places: all one has to do, so to speak, is to stoop and pick up gold.

All that is told here concerning the richness of this country seems so fabulous that I, who am on the spot, cannot believe it is true; it seems to me as though I am under the influence of an enchanted sleep.

Just imagine, this country is but six months old. Before that there were no inhabitants to speak of. Today, there are towns everywhere, people everywhere, and an extraordinary activity. There are already in port more than two hundred ships from Europe, which leads me to believe that the news must have had the same effect at home as in South America, whose inhabitants, attracted by the lure of gold, are leaving in crowds.

Upon arriving here, everyone goes to the mines. Already there is a large population; but it can still increase without danger of exhausting the wealth of the earth which is estimated as more than two hundred leagues in extent. These mines are called *Lavadero* because gold is extracted by washing it out of the earth. There are some places where the gold is fine, and others, where it is found in nuggets, some of which weigh several pounds. In the first instance, the gold is rather evenly distributed; in the second, it is found by chance.

Manual labor is very expensive: carpenters and joiners earn, 60, 80, even 100 francs per day; a washerwoman charges 5 francs for every piece she is given to wash, and since new shirts do not cost much more, some people prefer to buy new ones and not keep them after they have been used. Bread is worth forty cents a pound; transportation is correspondingly expensive; nothing is cheap but clothes that glut the market.

At the mines, four and five francs per pound is paid for flour, and other things are in proportion.

I have spoken to several people who have come from the mines and expect to go back very soon. If one is to believe what they say, no one can fail to make a fortune. Many told me they had washed as much as 1,000 francs a day and even more, according to the richness of the place where luck had taken them; thus, by working only six months in the year (one works only in summer) one can amass from 180 to 200,000 francs, a very respectable amount these days.

The climate is good, and people are robust and healthy except in some places where there are intermittent fevers, which are easily avoided; the vegetation is wonderful, and the country very picturesque. But then I am only repeating what I have been told. After a bit, I will be able to speak with more authority.

I hope to be leaving for the mines in about eight days with one of my friends, who is an excellent doctor, and four Chilean laborers. Do not be surprised if you do not hear from me for some time, because I do not think I shall be able to write you before the end of the campaign, in six or seven months.

Let us hope, my good mother, that before long we shall all be happy; we can hardly doubt it any more. *(Signed)* LEOPOLD PERROT.

The English newspapers also have wanted to inform their numerous readers of some of the truth concerning the placers. They have opened their columns to private communications, and the *Times*, in one of its September issues, devoted three columns to a letter dated San Francisco, July 2, 1849.

This letter, like all others coming from this country, begins with long and often insignificant details. The author wanted to expand his account so as to give an idea of the prices of some commodities. For information, we think it advisable to reproduce this part of his letter:

Lumber, planks, American pine $350 (1,855 francs) per 1,000 feet; Swedish pine, from $250 to $275; Chilean lumber, $300.

Flour, per sack of 200 Spanish pounds $9 (47 fr. 90 c.) abundant and in great demand.

Pine boards a month ago sold for as much as $400 (2,120 fr.) per 1,000 feet; and flour, three months ago, as high as $18 (95 fr. 48 c.) per 100 lbs.

Potatoes, grown in California, $12 (63 fr. 60 c.) per cwt., scarce and in great demand.

Ham, 36 cents (1 fr. 80 c.) per lb.; salt beef $1.50 (7 fr. 90 c.) a barrel—abundant, little demand.

Cans of preserved meat, from $16 to $20 (84 to 105 fr.) a dozen.

Sardines, $22 (126 fr. 60 c.) per dozen of half cans.

Edam cheese, 35 cents (1 fr. 75 c.) per lb.

French prunes, $5.50 (28 fr. 15 c.) a basket of 11 lbs.

French brandy, a case of 12 bottles, $16 (84 fr. 80 c.).

Martell brandy (English brand) in casks, $6.00 (31 fr. 80 c.) a gallon (4 litres 54 centil.), but hard to sell, like all liquids in barrels, bottles being much easier to transport to the mines.

Champagne, from $15 to 30 (from 80 fr. to 132 fr. 50 c.) a dozen bottles, according to quality.

Port Wine, no demand.

Sherry Wine, little demand.

Madeira Wine, a gallon, $2 (10 fr. 60 c.), little demand.

Same, bottled, $3.50 to $4.75 a dozen (18 fr. 65 c. to 25 fr. 20 c.).

New England Rum, 55c to 75c (2 fr. 80 c. to 3 fr. 95 c.) a gallon, according to quality.

Whiskey (Monongahala) from $1.50 to $1.75.

Holland Gin, a case of 12 bottles, $6.00 (31 fr. 80 c.) a case.

Bass Ale, $7.50 (39 fr. 75 c.) a dozen bottles. A quantity recently imported from China reached this price.

Glasgow Ale, from Tennant and Baird, $7 (37 fr. 10 c.) a dozen bottles.

All manufactured goods and ready-made clothes are so plentiful that they are sold at cost and even below. All goods destined for the interior are bought in San Francisco and are selected to suit the needs of the placers and of the mines; the inland market itself is subject to the most extraordinary fluctuations, owing to the wandering habits of the miners and their whims.

The tariff voted by the Washington Congress in 1846 is in force: foreign ships pay a tonnage duty of $1.00 (5 fr. 30 c.) a ton. Foreign ships under 70 tons are allowed to engage in coastal traffic and enter the rivers leading to the mines.

Dealing subsequently with other details of the administration and government of California, the author admits that the military rule exists in name only, the country being governed by the Spanish laws, conjointly with American laws. But since this letter was written, new facts have developed which we shall mention later on. However, we cannot omit the passage in which he says that, although the country has neither regular administration nor police, it is not a prey to anarchy as some would have one believe. "Goods," he says, "and liquors are to be found everywhere on the beach and in the streets, for there are no warehouses in which to house them, and very seldom is any stolen.

This same correspondent could not refrain from writing about the price of real estate and that of manual labor. It is appropriate to quote from this part:

The value of real estate [says he] has increased in San Francisco in a proportion one cannot realize, and the price of rents has naturally followed. A piece of land offered a year ago to one of my friends for $1,000 (5,300 fr.) and which he refused because he found the claims exaggerated, was sold again four months ago in three lots at $28,745 (152,340 fr.) cash for each. This is only one instance among a thousand that I could cite.

A house built this year at a cost of $40,000 (212,000 fr.) was rented a few days ago for $40,000 a year. The house in which I am writing to you was rented last year for $50 (265 fr.) a year; now it rents for $1,800 (9,540 fr.).

Labor is very high: a common laborer earns $7.00 (37 fr.) a day; a carpenter $8; a cook gets $150 (795 fr.) a month; and a sailor as much.

In port there are now 103 merchant ships of which 39 are American, 22 Chilean, 9 English, 7 Danish, 6 French, 4 from the Sandwich Islands, 4 from Tahiti (French protectorate), 3 Mexican, 3 Peruvian, 2 from Hamburg, 1 Spanish, 1 from Bremen, 1 Portuguese, without counting a fleet of light craft which ply on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers and all the inland waterways of the bay.

> After having been tied up for lack of hands, the ships are beginning to be able to leave port; it is no longer difficult to hire sailors at $150 (795 fr.) a month.

Writing next about the wealth of the mines, the honorable correspondent of the *Times* tells of what he has seen with his own eyes. His story is of major interest, since he is giving to the public what he has personally observed. We shall let him speak, for fear of not quoting him properly:

> The soil is composed of a red marl in which gold is found even to the summit of the hills, which are very rugged, creviced, and covered with large boulders. The stream it is necessary to descend to reach the placers or wash the gold is a swift torrent which dashes and foams against its shores and against the rocks which obstruct its bed, and it carries the gold the miners gather. Heretofore, this work has been carried on in the most elementary manner by the adventurers who first rushed into these regions and who, finding such an abundance of gold on the surface of the soil, never thought of digging deeper. Since, however, the gold is found (at least that is my opinion) in layers formed by alluvial soil washed down from the neighboring heights in the course of centuries, it follows that because of the heaviness of the metal, the lower strata must be infinitely richer than those on the surface.
>
> I am working, at present (June 1849) on the Yuba, at a place where the gold has already been removed from the upper strata, and I can see that the deeper I dig the richer the earth becomes. As proof that all of this gold comes from alluviums and has been carried down by water, it is well to note that it is always more abundant wherever bends of the river form bars. I have also noticed that whenever the banks of the streams are high and precipitous, the auriferous deposits always contain more gold than where the grade is slight. So far, I have not yet found a gold vein; however, I have seen a specimen, which I was told came from the Sierra Nevada, in which the gold was encased in a white quartz gangue. It was extremely rich; the greater part of the specimen was pure gold and weighed about four pounds Troy (almost a kilogram and a half).
>
> That the beds of these streams contain incredible wealth, I have no doubt for after the floods caused by the melting of the snow have subsided, and part of the bed of the stream has become dry, the dirt extracted then is always richer than that found near the edges which are occasionally flooded. The reason for this is obvious, it is because the main bed of the stream receives, throughout its course, the debris from all the hills between which it flows, while the places which are only occasionally flooded are enriched only by the gold coming down from the hills in their immediate vicinity.
>
> Although there was a lot of exaggeration in all the stories I had read or heard before coming to the country, I do not doubt and I do not hesitate to repeat that it contains incredible wealth. I cannot, however, vouch for the accuracy of the figures some people have given me as to the profit they have derived from their work. I will merely state what I have personally observed. I can say that a man with nothing but a wooden basin, holding a quarter of a bushel (8 or 10 litres) of earth, can extract one or two ounces (30 to 60 grams) of gold, pure gold, of course, in six or seven hours of work. That is what the men I am at present employing are producing. Notice that this is more than the mines of Peru or Chile ever produced.

On the fifteenth of last August, the packet-boat *California* arrived in Panama with fifty-one passengers and 2,500,000 francs in gold.

The steamer *Medway* has arrived lately in London with the news that rich deposits of gold had been found north of the American River and that every miner could clean up an ounce of the precious metal per day.

A letter from California, of which the following extract was sent us from Liverpool on October 6, again verifies the richness of the mines:

"As for gold, it is still found everywhere. A piece weighing 14¾ lbs., has come from the San Joaquin, and has been bought to be presented to Queen Victoria. Another nugget weighs 8 pounds. In short, the news is most favorable for the prospectors."

The 14¾ lb. nugget mentioned in the above quotation has been disposed of as indicated. A letter from San Francisco, dated July 29 and which was kindly transmitted to us by Mr. Chateauneuf, No. 8 Boulevard Montmartre, Paris, to whom it was addressed by Messrs. de Boom, Vigneaux and Grisar, informs us of the cost of this piece.

"The firm of Cros, Hobson and Company,[9] of San Francisco," says that letter, "has just sold a piece of gold to Don F. Léon, destined for Queen Victoria, for 3,560 pesos cash (19,224 fr.)."

Happy the man who found that nugget! In one hour, in one minute, in one second, he earned 19,000 francs!

The *Times* has published in its columns an extract from a letter, dated San Francisco, September 1.

> In the month of August [it is said in this letter] a municipal government similar to the Mexican has been set up. The chief executive is the alcalde, who at the same time tries civil and criminal cases.
>
> Emigrants continue to arrive from every country; 9,000 have come at a time over the Rocky Mountains.
>
> The quantity of gold extracted in one day is estimated at 48,750 pounds sterling (1,218,750 francs).

Is that all? No. Numerous quotations are available, and we could write whole volumes if we wanted to quote everything. Now it is the turn of an American paper to inform us of the arrivals of new shipments of gold:

"Considerable quantities of California gold dust have again arrived in New York," says this paper. "The *Ohio* has brought $130,000 worth of dust belonging to passengers, and it had $60,000 of loaned money."

The *Alta California* says:

> The population is now increasing more rapidly every day. In the month of August, 93 ships arrived in San Francisco and landed 3,866 immigrants, of which 3,342 were Americans. To this number must be added those who come overland.
>
> This brings us back to the mining news, which at this time, is entirely satisfactory . . .
>
> The season is most favorable for the gold miners. The waters are at their lowest, and the yield becomes better and easier to obtain. They tell of a company at Mormon Island, which, by scientific means, cleans up $200 a day. However the north and middle branches of the American River appear to be the most productive places. On the second of those streams an association of thirty people, by diverting the river, cleaned up $15,000 (76,000 fr.) in three days, and hope to reap an average of 10 ounces of gold (840 fr.) per man per day. Elsewhere, we have heard of 20 individuals organized into a company and regularly earning 3 ounces each (352 fr.). On the Middle Fork, the

yield is still better: a company with a submarine apparatus [sic] hopes to gather, before long, $10,000 (53,000 fr.) per day's work.[10]

Ah! Despite our willingness to believe the recitals of what there may be in this far-away land, we cannot at this time share the wild delusions of the honorable editor of the *Alta California.* The use of scientific apparatus will, without doubt, give much better results than individual panning, but to clean up an average of two ounces of gold per man per day is enormous, miraculous! An average of five ounces (about 400 fr.) would be almost prodigious; however, anything is possible, for the last word has not yet been said. The more one hunts, the more one digs, the more riches one finds. When, in the first part of this pamphlet, we stated that the company *La Californienne* had the most favorable chances of success, we knew that the purchase it had made of ten amalgamating machines for the washing of gold would be the means of insuring its success. We have just seen that by using scientific processes, the yield of gold is greater, more abundant; and what especially makes the work less arduous, less wasteful of time, is the ease of washing with the amalgamating machines. Just imagine ten workmen doing as much work as 1,200! Prodigious invention, which allows to escape only one hundredth of the gold which would be lost were mercury not used; but the company *La Californienne* does not intend to let anything be lost since it has bought also retorts and crucibles with proper furnaces.

The *Placer Times,* another American newspaper, as though it wanted to corroborate what the first news brought us regarding the gold deposits, adds:

"The miners now have extended their operations to the south as far as the Mariposa River, twenty miles southeast of the Merced. An expedition during the months of June and July which reached as far as the Trinity River *(Rio Trinidad),* has also discovered rich gold deposits."

Finally, to complete this series of reports, which we cannot be accused of having invented since we have indicated their sources, we are going to quote the editor of the *Pacific News,* another American newspaper:

> The Sacramento, it is said, is still paying good dividends, some ten or fifteen dollars a day to all those who work diligently; and a bar near the place where gold was discovered for the first time and which had been overlooked due to the enthusiasm of the miners, has been worked with great success, yielding an average of about $200 a head to three partners during the first fortnight. The new method which consists in diverting the river and working in the dry bed has not always rewarded the efforts it takes, although in many cases it has succeeded in such a manner as to make it popular. It takes from twenty to sixty men to build a dam. The one which is being built at Mormon Island has not yet given satisfaction to its partisans, although the shares were sold at San Francisco at 50% par.
>
> The *Feather* River, where the finest gold has been found, is still in great favor among the miners. It yields on an average one ounce to every man who really works. Lazy people who do not exert themselves succeed no better here than anywhere else, and

the dissolute are generally the first victims of the climate. About three thousand people are now working at this place.

It is said that the River *Ayuba* [sic] is the place where persevering people are most certain to earn money; trade with the Indians is very active. One of our friends reports having sold ordinary red blankets at four to ten ounces apiece.

Of the three forks of the American River *(Rio de los Americanos)* the North Fork is the one that has the most miners. The gold which is gathered there is of a light, lemon color, and when it is assayed it shows a greater percentage of silver than the ore in the neighboring streams. Several companies left the Middle Fork to go up towards the source of the precious metal in the mountains; but they did not have as much success as they hoped for. The Oregon people seem to be the luckiest in that region.

The mornings and evenings are cool and very pleasant. The middle of the day is hot and dry.

The number of persons working on the Sacramento and its tributaries is about 15,000; on the first of January, they will have realized twenty million dollars, and this is quite a conservative estimate.

The San-Joaquin shares with the Sacramento the population of gold seekers; although it has been worked over and over again, the quantity of ore is still considerable.

The banks of the *Stanislas* have yielded the largest fragments—from a half ounce up to fifteen pounds, and thousands of persons are waiting for low water to work the almost virgin bed of that river.

The dry diggings of *Wood's Creek* have produced several thousand ounces, and the Mexicans living at Sonorian Camp have gathered a rich harvest. These mines are almost deserted because there is no water to wash the gold. On the contrary, on the edges of the Stanislaus, the holes are full of water and pumps have to be operated constantly in order to drain them.

The *Tuolumne* and *Mercedès* [sic] rivers have hardly been touched, yet the results have been most successful. Many people are now going toward the canyons of *Calaveres* [sic], where a fortunate miner has realized $20,000 in two weeks.

One may estimate the number of miners on the San Joaquin and its tributaries at twenty thousand. They, also, will have realized about twenty million by the first of next January. From this estimate, the country will produce no less than forty million a year, which is an unprecedented income in the annals of the world. The flourishing cities of Sacramento, Stockton, Benecia [sic], and others, are the best proof of the immense wealth that contributes to people a country which only lacks laborers to transform it into one of the richest agricultural lands in the universe.

They say that new mines have been discovered on the Turkee [sic] River on the other side of the Sierra Nevada, and several companies have gone there. It is asserted that $500 to $1,000 a day have been made. If this is true the real mines are only now being discovered.

And now that we have faithfully reported all the stories contained in the letters and in the papers that have reached us up to now (November 1849), we might consider our task fulfilled. Swept along by those statements, and not wishing to divert our attention or that of our readers to facts alien to the wealth of the mines, we have abstained from talking about the political organization of the country. Now that we have torn ourselves away from the prodigious and the marvelous, we are going to borrow from the *Courier des Etats-Unis* a final quotation which reveals the principal political event which took place last August, the most recent period of which we have been able to learn:

> The event of this period evidently has been the election of delegates to the territorial convention. Everything went along smoothly, as far as we can judge from what we have under our eyes. Only, as it was easy to foresee, the districts who have the right to consider themselves the most important have made use of the latitude accorded them by General Rilley (sic) to name extra representatives. The district of San Francisco has chosen five; that of Sacramento, six; and that of San Jose, three. It is supposed that the district of San Joaquin has also elected five or six. In the quite probable hypothesis that all these delegates will be given seats, the strength of the convention will be increased from thirty-seven members to fifty-five or fifty-six. At any rate the Assembly was due to convene at Monterey on August 31. On the whole, the choices made are regarded as satisfactory and the delegates are held to be men of merit and of integrity. Therefore, the discussions are expected to proceed in such manner that a constitutionally elected legislature will be able to convene around the first of November.

Accordingly, at the moment of this writing, a legislative assembly must be in session in California. Everything, therefore, is going to take place legally, and the gold seekers need not fear anarchy any longer. A regular government exists, and that government is intimately linked to that of the United States as an integral part of the Republic of the Union.

What has been done since the month of August and what is still to take place, will certainly deserve attention. No doubt, our readers would like to be informed of these happenings, in order to form a better idea of the country and to be able to understand all the developments; we can only inform them that the paper, *Le Californien,* especially founded to enlighten public opinion as to the fluctuations of the wealth of California, will publish twice a month the news it will receive.

In the course of this we have had occasion to speak of a company founded for the purpose of working the gold mines of California and based on profit sharing; we, therefore, believe that it will please our readers if we acquaint them with the by-laws of that society which has neglected nothing for the full success of its enterprise.

TRENY.

P.S. As we are going to press, the English papers, and among them the *Standard,* inform us that the *Pandore* which arrived at Portsmouth on November 10, brought $800,000 dollars (four million francs) of California gold consigned to Messrs. Maxwell & Company for the London trade.

EXCERPTS FROM THE BY-LAWS OF LA CALIFORNIENNE COMPANY

The Headquarters of which are at 44, Rue de Trèvise, Paris.

The organization of the company was definitely completed on April 16, 1849, with articles of incorporation drawn up by Mr. THION DE LA

CHAUME, notary, rue Lafitte, No. 3, in Paris, which have been published and recorded by the Clerk of the Court of Commerce on April 24, 1849.

The company is organized for commercial exportation and the working of gold and other mines in California.[11]

The headquarters of the company are at the office of its general manager, 44, Rue de Trevise, Paris.

The name of the firm is CH. HOCHGESANGT AND CO.

The life of the organization is fixed at fifty years from January 1, 1849.

The capital stock is fixed provisionally at five million francs, divided into 50,000 shares, worth 100 francs each.

Funds accruing from the sale of stock are deposited in the Bank of France. The General Manager can use them only for the needs of the company, and must justify their use to the Board of Directors by means of proper vouchers.

The stock is issued as registered or bearer certificates. The final certificate is delivered only upon full payment for the stock.

Fully paid-up shares of stock will be delivered in exchange for merchandise suitable for export.

The shares give a right to 5% yearly interest, after 10% has been set aside, out of the profits, for a reserve fund; the surplus is distributed as a dividend in the following manner:

75% to the Shareholders;
15% to the General Manager;
5% to the Board of Directors;
5% to the Employees and to the representatives of the Company.

The General Manager must furnish a bond of fifty thousand francs in stock certificates.

A Board of Directors, composed of stockholders, follows and supervises all the operations of the company and all the actions of the General Manager; whenever it sees fit, it checks the cash, the papers, the books and the correspondence.

Every year, on March 31, an inventory shall be made, to be submitted to the Board of Directors and for the final approval of the general meeting of stockholders, which will take place every year on May 5, at 2:00 P.M., at the company's headquarters.

Only those stockholders having 50 shares may take part in the general meetings.

Those owning 50 shares, and also those holding jointly 40 shares, may be represented by a proxy, if they wish, at the general meetings, provided the holder of such proxy is himself the owner of 10 shares and has deposited the shares of his principals together with his own at the company's headquarters at least two days before the general meeting.

The stockholders will have as many votes as they have blocks of 50 shares. However, no stockholder may have more than 10 votes, no matter how many shares he may own or represent.

The regular or special meetings of stockholders are presided over by the Chairman of the Board of Directors, and in his absence, by the oldest member of the board.

* * *

PURPOSE OF THE COMPANY

The large emigration that is going on to all the cities of America proves in the most forceful manner how abundant are the resources that this virgin country offers to export trade and to the workers who go in search of the precious metal; so, at this time, when the depredation of all holdings is so great in France, the slump in business so complete, investments so uncertain, we must consider this important discovery as a blessing of Providence. It will allow people with large or small means to participate in the immense advantages offered to all branches of industry and commerce, and will especially enable those who have suffered losses because of the recent political disturbances, to retrieve their fortunes.

The directors of the company have gathered the most accurate information from the consul of France in California, from the United States ambassador and from people who have had commercial dealings in that country, or who have resided there. So it is with entire confidence and a firm belief in success that we have undertaken to ship to California the chief necessities, such as wearing apparel, linen, canvas, cloth, flannels, hardware, tools, weapons, wines, liquors, and medicines; all of which are necessary, not only to the natives, but also to the numerous immigrants who mean to become wealthy in that rich country.

Our next intention is to develop a large area of the gold fields recently purchased by the Company in California.

An immense advantage will result from the ownership of land by *La Californienne*, in that a right is given it freely to mine for gold, and the company promises its stockholders never to sell or lease any part of this ground to anyone. The deed to this property has been deposited in the office of Mr. Thion de la Chaume, notary, in Paris.

The company has purchased ten machines (amalgamating process) much superior to the Siberian machines or those used in the gold mines of Russia or South America, for through a simultaneous process of washing and amalgamating they collect every nugget, every flake or particle of gold, without allowing the smallest particle to escape. These ten machines, operated by a hundred men, even if they are inexperienced, can produce more results than fifteen hundred experienced gold washers.

Competent men who have witnessed the public experiments made with those machines have unanimously acknowledged their superiority.

The company has established branch offices in England, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.

ADVANTAGES

The commercial transactions we are undertaking are all the more advantageous because the crisis at present prevailing in France but of which the influence has not been felt in America enables us to secure, at a very low cost, goods which we will exchange for gold bars and the products of the country. Finally, the extraordinary rise in the price of necessities, the salary of laborers, and the considerable increase in the population of California, are a sure guarantee that we can easily dispose of our goods.

The producer and manufacturer who will bring to the company, in payment for shares of stock, the merchandise which fills their warehouses, will thereby make a safe investment and will reap enormous profits. The goods will be bought in preference from the stockholders of the company. One may be a stockholder without being a worker, but all workers participate equally in all the profits of the stockholders.

The *La Californienne* Company advances to the working associates everything necessary to their existence, their maintenance, and the working of the mines for the entire duration of their contract, which is for two years. To be admitted as a member of the *mutual association of California workers*, one must have good testimonials of morality.

Transportation is provided for the working associates, who must subscribe and pay for nine shares of stock at 100 francs each, the final certificates of which will be delivered to them at the end of their two years' contract. A sailing of workers, organized by *La Californienne*, will take place very soon from Havre, under the leadership of Mr. Gaillard, an experienced navigator who has made several trips to the South Seas and has resided in both Americas. A mining engineer, a doctor, a druggist, and a chaplain, selected by His Grace the Archbishop of Paris, will accompany the workers, who, by taking advantage of this sailing, will arrive in California at the time work is being resumed. Other sailings will follow. The company has contracted for a large stock of canned goods, of loaves of bread and hardtack, preserved by the patented process of Mr. Alzard.

The company has arranged for regular sailings to take over new workers and bring provisions and everything else which may be needed for their maintenance by those already in California. Ships will also sail from San Francisco at regular intervals to bring back to France the wealth the workers will have acquired. The company has had wooden houses built to be used as warehouses for provisions, dwellings, and as storerooms in which to keep the gold ores the workers have accumulated. If need be, the company will charter a steamer to ply on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers to take to the workers provisions and everything they may need.

BENEFITS

The stock of the *La Californienne* Company, sold only at *100 francs* a share, may be bought by people in all circumstances, from the large to the small merchant. Several persons can join together to buy one of the certificates.

The stock certificates give a right, 1st *to the ownership of the gold-bearing ground,* 2nd *to 5% interest per annum,* 3rd *to a 75% dividend in every profit* the company may make through its *export business* and the working of the *gold mines.*

From very careful, conservative estimates, every one hundred franc share of stock should double its value every year, so every associate worker should have a handsome fortune at the end of two years. Stock may be paid for in postal money orders on Paris, or by drafts on the principal cities in France.

GUARANTEES

The Board of Directors of the Company, composed of important professional men, has among its members several representatives of the people and some mayors, and so offers secure guarantees of honor and honesty. The manager puts up a bond of 50,000 francs in shares of the company. He must furnish vouchers to the Board of Directors showing what use has been made of the capital of the company. All letters, money orders, and drafts must be addressed to him, post paid, at the main office of the Company, 44 rue de Trévise, Paris. He will reply promptly to all requests for information. As requests for stock certificates and for registration of workers are very numerous, it is important that those who wish to participate in the profits of the first year, whether they intend to leave for California or intend to stay at home, hasten to write immediately, because all stock purchased and paid for after departure of the workers will only participate in the profits of the second year.

Subscribe and obtain information at the

MAIN OFFICE
RUE de TRÉVISE, 44, PARIS

* * *

DEPARTURE FROM HAVRE FOR CALIFORNIA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF LA CALIFORNIENNE SOCIETY OF PARIS

Rue de Trévise, 44

One reads in the *Journal du Havre:*

Two days before the *Jacques-Lafitte* left for California, a family feast took place within our walls: the associate workers of *La Californienne*

Company of Paris, sixty in number, had assembled for a banquet they were tendering to the Paris general manager, Mr. Ch. Hochgesangt and to the leader of their expedition, Mr. [Henri] Gaillard, former mayor of Saint-Grégoire-d'Ardennes (Charente-Inférieure).

The banquet hall, arranged with perfect taste by the workers, was soon filled with numerous guests. During the three hours that the feast lasted the greatest harmony reigned, and all the members showed by their excellent deportment that they were worthy of the mission they were about to undertake.

At the end of the repast, several toasts were drunk by the participants:

To the Directors, to Union, to Harmony!

Mr. Gaillard, the leader of the expedition, responded with a heartfelt speech, which was greeted with unanimous applause, and each of the guests, wishing to show his devotion to the worthy leader who is to head the expedition to California, came forward in succession to shake his hand affectionately. Mr. Ch. Hochgesangt, in a few well-expressed words, convinced the workers of the loyal friendship of their general manager.

This entertainment, which brought together men who for the most part did not know each other a few days before, and who from that moment became friends and brothers, ended with a good deed.

A collection was made among the workers and directors; the amount raised was 102 fr. 50c., which sum was handed to the Mayor of Havre to be given to the poor of that city.

At ten o'clock, the guests parted, exchanging the while new assurances of good, cordial and sincere friendship. The next day, Sunday, the whole group went in a body to the Church of Notre-Dame to hear a mass for the intercession of the Virgin. In the choir, which had been reserved, was to be found the band of the National Guard which played symphonies continuously during the divine service.

At the end of the service, M. Hervel, vicar of Notre Dame, thanked the workers for their good deed toward the poor.

Upon leaving the church, the band of the National Guard accompanied the workers along the Rue de Paris to Theatre Square, amidst a large and friendly crowd.

It is under these auspices that the association of workers of the *La Californienne* Company took off on its first voyage on the *Jacques-Lafitte,* which sailed amidst general cheerfulness and joyful songs, which did not cease until the ship was out of the port.

The associated workers of *La Californienne* mutual society sailing on the *Jacques-Lafitte* have sent the following letter to their General Manager:

To the Manager of *La Californienne,*
Rue de Trévise 44, Paris.

Dear Sir:

The associate workers of *La Californienne* would leave France with regret if, upon sailing, they did not express their gratitude for the care with which you have organized the company and with which you have surrounded their departure. They have confidence in the success of the enterprise to which you have so greatly contributed. You may depend upon their cooperation and their united purpose as far as it is in their power to insure a common success.

Accept Sir, assurances of our esteem and confidence,
(Signed) DUPORT, JR., GRASSAT, BRIZEVIN, GAMBERT,
Delegates of the workers sailing on the *Jacques-Lafitte.*

NOTES

1. Here the author inserts a footnote:

"The Rocky Mountains are a part of that great range of mountains which originate at the Islands of Tierra del Fuego, near Cape Horn, and end at Mount Saint Elias, which is situated north of the Port of Malgrave. This mountain range, better known under the general name of the Cordillera of the Andes, extends, therefore, through both Americas and is 2,500 leagues long. It is at the foot of the Rocky Mountains that the headwaters of all the great rivers of North America have their origin.

"It is possible to ascend many of the rivers of the United States to the Rocky Mountains. This is an immense advantage when one reflects that one of the greatest rivers of California, the Rio Colorado, has its course in those mountains, and after traversing all of California, empties into the Gulf of California. Some day there may be found means of going from the United States to California by the rivers of those two countries. Until then, we must pin our hopes upon the discovery made in Oregon of a pass through which even vehicles can easily cross the Rocky Mountains. Some caravans coming from the United States have already crossed through this pass to California; others have followed the Santa Fe route."

2. Cf. Wilkes: "The Californian Range rises gradually from the valley, at first in gentle undulating hills, becoming more precipitous, as they ascend, but still not so much so as to prevent access to the highest points beneath the snow line. The distance from the valley to the summit is from sixty-five to seventy miles, and the average altitude 8,000 feet." Charles Wilkes, *Western America, Including California and Oregon* (Philadelphia, 1849), p. 26.

3. Trény does not quote Duflot de Mofras verbatim. Cf. Eugène Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Orégon, des Californies et de la mer Vermeille exécutée pendant les années 1840, 1841, et 1842* (Paris, 1844), II, 46.

4. August Lacoste was the author of *Californie: Fragments inédits d'un voyage autour du monde* (Paris, 1849).

5. Joseph de Rosamel was commander of the French corvette *Danaïde,* at Monterey, June–July, 1840. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (1884–90), IV, 35, 103.

6. Cf. this quotation with Hypolite Ferry, *Description de la Nouvelle Californie* (Paris, 1850), p. 53.

7. Here Trény adds a note: "The English or American statute mile is equal to 1,609 meters. Therefore the Tulare Valley is 81 leagues long and 40 leagues broad (3,340 square leagues)."

8. E. Gould Buffum, in his *Six Months in the Gold Mines: from a Journal of Three Years' Residence in Upper and Lower California in 1847–8–9* (London, 1850), says: "I do not believe, as was first supposed, that the gold-washings of northern California are 'inexhaustible'." *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

9. Charles P. Kimball, *The San Francisco City Directory, 1850,* lists Cross, Hobson & Co., commission merchants, Sansome Street, between Pacific and Jackson.

10. Search of the file of the *Alta California* in the California State Library, Sacramento, has failed to reveal the article from which Trény purports to quote. The issue of August 29, 1849, however, gives as the number of arrivals at San Francisco as 3,806 males, of which 3,342 were Americans.

11. "Another of these companies, the 'Californian,' announces a capital of 5,000,000 fr. It differs from the former one ['The Commercial Society of San Francisco'] because it sends out exploring parties with tools, wooden houses, &c., as well as merchandise, and its prospectus gives the names of four ships, and the names and addresses of 406 'associated travailleurs,' whom it has already despatched. A M[onsieur] Gailliard is the agent at San Francisco, and the prospectus contains a declaration from the travailleurs, that owing to their confidence in this personage they 'recognize him as their head, and abandon their interests, their rights, and their honor to his justice and his loyalty.' . . ." Boston *Journal*, quoted in Sacramento *Settlers & Miners Tribune*, November 21, 1850. For the names of the ships, dates of sailing, and passenger list, see Professor Gilbert Chinard's introduction to this article, "When the French Came to California," in this QUARTERLY, XXII (December 1943), pp. 303-7.

Baltimore Fire Laddie

George H. Hossefross

By DOLORES WALDORF

SAN FRANCISCO'S symbolic phoenix was no eagle-beaked bird with golden feathers, in the fire-swept fifties, but a tall red-headed man with a flaming beard and perennially ash-smudged white coat and hat. George Hossefross not only fought and licked the "Fire King"[1] but swung a hammer and heaved onto his great shoulders beams for the buildings that rose from the smoking embers. He was the spirit of San Francisco.

Yet the fifteen years he lived in the gold-rush town were racked by the competition of two Atlantic Coast cities, New York and Baltimore. Hossefross hailed from Baltimore, Maryland, in every sense of the word. Nothing was ever right or good in his eyes unless it was done in the Baltimore manner, or, better still, was made in Baltimore. To his dying day he believed that San Francisco's Fire Department had been ruined by New York and saved by Baltimore.[2] Hossefross was as tightly bound to his Maryland past as if he had been a figure projected from a bas-relief. Every word he spoke, every inflection, every act and reaction of his career in San Francisco revealed how intensely he had lived his boyhood and absorbed the prejudices and convictions of his environments. This, of course, was a characteristic common to most '49ers. Their sectional prejudices colored the history of the town. But few pioneers lived so much in the present or in so high and dramatic a key as George Hossefross.

This vital living in the moment makes it difficult to search out many details of his life. His complete absorption in San Francisco's fire department and his furious championing of his political beliefs put his past career and family into the shadows as far as history is concerned. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 1, 1826,[3] to devout Catholic parents, descendants, no doubt, of refugees from persecution in Europe. The good intentions of Lord Baltimore, long before the arrival of young George Hossefross, had run afoul of democracy. The Protestant neighbors of the Catholic refugees were ever on the alert for overt acts, and the Catholics were equally sensitive. By the time George was a school boy, sauntering home from parish school, there had been many a clash, physical as well as political, between Catholic and Protestant.[4] This was not so much intolerance on either side as an intense manifestation of a desire for absolute liberty in all things. It was not persecution either side dreaded half so much as the first advance of aggression. Chips on the shoulders of both sides filled Maryland history with feuds and bloody clashes, training George

Hossefross early in the impolite art of fisticuffs and the love of conflict.

From infancy he breathed this atmosphere of fierce independence until defiance became instinct with him. Everything he believed in and every act of his life was based on violent convictions of right and good, an intense desire to dominate and set things in order, at any cost. It was his sort of temperament, as well as the irresistible flow of history, which made his era such a molten present of conflict and flux.

During his adolescence he was schooled in the Spartan environment of an American man-of-war, probably beginning as a cabin boy. It was the custom in that day to apprentice boys in their early teens into service in the Navy. Many a figure in Middle America rose to national fame on a similar education. It was no doubt a most effective way of curing adolescents of aimlessness and idleness. For more than fifty years it was so popular that long waiting lists of boys were filed with the Navy Department even after Congress forbade the practice by law, in 1855.[5]

Hossefross returned to Baltimore when his apprenticeship was over and became a carpenter. He also joined the local fire department and became a Whig. To be a Whig in Maryland one had to maintain a constant boil of indignation. The Whig party had been founded in resistance to Andrew Jackson's long domination of the Democratic party. It was essentially a party of opposition. When Jackson faded out of the picture there was left only the opposition. This affiliation had much to do with the history of George Hossefross in San Francisco.

He was not quite 23 when he set out for California to seek his fortune. His name does not appear among available passenger lists, nor does any ship out of Baltimore appear on the harbormaster's records for the day he gave as the date of his arrival in San Francisco, December 23, 1849.[6] It is quite possible that he shipped as a ship's carpenter and quietly took his leave of the vessel, without formality or notice, on the night of its arrival in San Francisco Bay. This happened so frequently during that winter that it was less a reflection on the seaman's character than an indication of great impatience to "see the elephant" and taste adventure.

At six o'clock the next morning, Christmas Eve, fire broke out in the back bar of Dennison's Exchange, a cloth and boxwood gambling saloon opposite the Plaza on Kearny Street.[7] Although there had been much previous talk of organizing a fire department, nothing had been done. There were a few wells, but only two or three inadequate, privately owned fire engines and no plans for fighting fires. Aided by a north breeze the flames burned for nearly five hours, destroying about thirty buildings between Kearny and Montgomery, Clay and Washington Streets. Experienced fire fighters such as David Broderick, George Hossefross, and F. D. Kohler were almost as baffled as the willing but untrained volunteers.

The heat was so intense that nothing could be done to save the block itself, and the rest of the town seemed doomed. Carpets were ripped from floors, blankets were torn from beds, soaked with water and flung out to curtain the fronts of buildings facing the burning block. The dripping curtains steamed, scorched and shriveled. Buildings blackened, charred by the heat alone. Led by army officers, among them a Major Sweetzer, men finally took axes to buildings and tore them down.[8] Others were dynamited. Shortly before noon the wind changed, and the fire was conquered.

Although the first meeting to organize for fire fighting was held while the ashes were still smoking,[9] it was April 1, 1850, before Hossefross and his Baltimore cronies became an independent company, the Monumental Engine Company. David Broderick and his New York friends organized the Empire Engine Company No. 1 two weeks later, on April 14, 1850.[10] Political animosities and home town rivalries hindered progress. There were several reorganizations before F. D. Kohler, appointed chief the previous January,[11] was able to bring any semblance of unity into the department.

Of course George Hossefross dominated the Baltimore company. Among his associates were old Baltimore firemen, bankers, lawyers, merchants and politicians, most of them Whigs or neutral enough to get along with Whigs. Southern in sympathy, all were actively in opposition to the brogue of the New York fire laddies. Since they were Maryland Whigs they were also antagonistic to Democrats, whether Barn Burners or Hunkers. This took in much territory for a battlefield, and they were seldom without a battle. Many of the Baltimore company were also members of the Marion Rifles,[12] one of the foremost military companies in the city.

The Baltimore boys found it wise to travel in pairs after working hours, for a man needed a friend when he ran into the wrong crowd. Whig headquarters in the early fifties were supervised by Charley Duane, a New York shoulder-striker with ready fists and a tinder-quick temper. Billy Mulligan, another good brawler, also held sway at the Whig headquarters in Kearny Street. There were times when Hossefross and his Baltimore crony, Billy Divier,[13] fought with bare knuckles while surrounded by a menacing gang of shoulder-strikers, led by Billy Mulligan. The Baltimore company were proud of their laurels and always ready for a return engagement when they had been bested.

The Baltimore group did not actually become part of the city fire department until the following fall. Some records give September 12, 1850, as the date of joining, others October 4.[14] At first they were divided into three companies—Monumental Engine Companies Nos. 6, 7, and 8; but in January 1853 they dropped the number 8, and by April 1854 they had also relinquished the number 7. The consolidated company thereafter was known as Monumental Company No. 6.[15]

Shortly after the fire of May 4, 1850, the Baltimore boys had ordered three engines from the hub of Hossefross' world. Hossefross was foreman of the Monumentals and obviously dominated their choice, if there was any question of choice. On October 5, 1850, the following notice appeared in the *Picayune:*

> FIREMEN'S NOTICE: The members of the Monumental Fire Company are requested to meet in front of the Arcade, Clay Street, on Sunday Eve at 3 o'clock for the purpose of trying the three suction engines. Punctual attendance is requested of every member. Citizens generally are invited to attend.
>
> W. F. McLEAN, *Sec.* WM. DEVERE, *Pres.*[16]

Hossefross was foreman of Monumental during the rest of his life. Headquarters were first a shed at the corner of Sacramento and Leidesdorff Streets,[17] but by the time the rains came the three engines were snug in a building on Brenham Place, back of the Plaza. Hossefross lived as close to the firehouse as possible and answered every call. The Monumental house became the center of the town's affairs. On its top hung the first bell to be used by Americans in San Francisco. Just how Hossefross came to accept a bell made in New York is a mystery. It was cast by Hooper, a famous New York bell founder, at a cost of $250 to Hossefross and his lads. They were very proud of the fact that they paid $1.00 a pound for it.[18]

As far as the Monumental boys and their foreman were concerned, the San Francisco Fire Department languished in failure and ignominy through 1850 and most of 1851.[19] On the night of June 10, 1851, the Monumental bell rang as it had never rung before. George Hossefross had decided to do something about gang rule of San Francisco. That was the night the Vigilance Committee of 1851 sprang to life and hanged Jim Jenkins, the Sydney cove who had stolen a safe on Long Wharf.[20] Hossefross was No. 199 of the Committee.[21] If he was not swinging on the Monumental bell rope that night he was helping Sam Brannan harangue the town into action against anarchy.

The following December the Baltimore boys finally succeeded in dominating the fire department election. Hossefross was elected chief engineer on December 3, 1851. He succeeded a Boston fire fighter, Franklin E. R. Whitney, who had resigned because of illness.[22]

It was one of the proudest moments of Hossefross' life when he donned the long white overcoat and white hat of fire chief.[23] He must have been a magnificent sight in it, for he was a big, broad-chested fellow with vivid coloring and vigorous, powerful gestures. He was sincere in his conviction that the San Francisco Fire Department was about to be lifted from ruin, disaster and disgrace.[24] He fought for the department as he fought for the Whig party, as he fought for everything in which he believed. The phoenix was tired of flame and misfortune.

It is significant that December 1851 saw the end of the great ravaging fires. Up to that time, Hossefross, who had continued as a builder and contractor, had suffered as big financial losses through fire as had other men. San Franciscans of the fifties gave to Hossefross the credit for the organization and fire prevention methods which permitted the city to build for permanence. This he modestly accepted, for he was a man of frankness in all things. He had fought a bitter battle to develop the fire department and none knew better than he how hard the fight had been.[25]

During the two years he was chief engineer he organized the Fireman's Charitable Fund and the Exempt Fire Company. One of the first contributors to the Charitable Fund was the new secret society, the E Clampsus Vitus. In the name of the organization, in mid-September 1852, Richard H. Sinton, R.G.T. of the E. Clampsus Vitus, donated $100 to the Charitable Fund.[26] Sinton was also a member of the Monumental Company, so it was more or less in the family.[27]

In October 1853, Hossefross resigned from office, as he had been called home to Baltimore on business.[28] From careful study of speeches at the farewell banquet given by prominent San Franciscans, it may be assumed that he was going back to claim the girl who had been waiting for him in Baltimore.[29]

The banquet was held in the chamber of the Board of Delegates in the City Hall. William Divier, probably the most devoted friend Hossefross ever had, was president of the meeting. A magic case watch of quartz gold, which "did not weigh less than two pounds and a half," was presented to Hossefross at this affair. On one side was engraved a design of one of the three Monumental engines, whether the "Mechanical," the "Franklin," or the "Union," is not clear. Suitable sentiments were also engraved, the gift of "his friends in San Francisco." The watch chain was a golden rope, entwined in which was a small gold trumpet. According to the reporter, it was "one of the chastest ensembles of the kind we have ever seen. The cost of the entire establishment was $750." Only a six-foot giant could have carried the "ensemble" in his pocket. Oratory and eloquence characterized the ceremonies. After modestly declaring that he was not an orator, Hossefross delivered a speech full of color and well-turned phrases. In the excitement of the great occasion he declared that he had been a fireman for twenty years.[30] This would have made him a member of the Baltimore Fire Department at the tender age of seven. At that, he was probably running with the machine, like many another small boy, even if not actually on the rolls.

Laden with his two-and-a-half-pound watch and the good wishes of his friends, George Hossefross took ship from the Broadway Wharf for Baltimore on October 17, 1853.[31] He returned the following spring and by fall was presiding at a grand lottery drawing in the Metropolitan Theatre. Little Anna Quinn, Little Eva with the first Uncle Tom's Cabin Company on the Coast, was at the wheel and drew the lucky ticket. So carried away was the young man who won the $10,000 that he promptly presented little Miss Quinn with $500.[32]

Shortly after Hossefross returned from Baltimore the Monumentals consolidated into one company, No. 6. The "Deluge," the largest engine on the Pacific Coast, had arrived in February. George Hossefross had probably shopped for it while in Baltimore. It weighed 5,563 pounds and was so heavy it broke through the planking on Jackson Street one day.[33]

Not long after Hossefross resumed business as usual in San Francisco, he began taking contracts to lift buildings by means of hydraulics.[34] City grades were changing, and there was a great lifting and lowering of stores, office buildings, and even factories. This was a most successful enterprise and one that soon sent stores rolling through the streets behind toiling, heavy-footed oxen.

Hossefross, however, continued to work with all his might for Monumental. He still lived as close to the firehouse as possible, on the southwest corner of Clay and Kearny.[35] But what happened to his political enthusiasm is not clear. It is not possible that he resigned from his political affiiations. That would not have been Hossefross. But there is a gap of five years, a gap which appears in the lives of many early Californians. He disappeared into oblivion as a Whig when the party collapsed from senility[36] in 1855, erupted briefly in 1856 as a member of the Vigilance Committee,[37] and disappeared again only to emerge in 1860 as a state committee member of the Union party in the presidential campaign.[38]

Many a Whig joined the secret Native-American meetings in 1855, and if, in the confusion of issues and prejudices, Hossefross found himself present when the Know-Nothings called the roll, he was not alone in his confusion. He was kept in suspense by the Vigilance Committee when he applied for membership, but was finally accepted and made captain of the Bloody Seventh. A number of his Monumental cronies were also members of the Committee, among them John L. Durkee, who was a gentleman of as violent convictions and belligerence as Hossefross.[39]

In October 1858 Hossefross became superintendent of streets and highways, succeeding Benjamin O. Devoe. The salary was $4,000 a year.[40] Out of this, Hossefross had to pay for assistants and men to hang notices of obstruction on buildings being moved from one site to another through the city streets. Since Hossefross had almost a corner on this business he was a little like a man arresting himself.

The condition of San Francisco's streets had been the subject of ridicule, indignation, and vituperation since the days of '49. But in 1860 people were getting ideas about a city beautiful and there was less humor in their comments. Hossefross inherited all the old jokes and had to listen to all the old complaints. The pond at the intersection of Kearny and California Streets was made the subject of new and timely jokes; the interminable blockades made by workmen repairing pipes for the Bensley Water Company were also discussed and magnified with heat. The dust, the dead dogs, the litter of boxes and barrels, the patches and chuckholes were all blamed on the harried superintendent of streets and highways.[41]

From a course of aggression, poor George Hossefross found himself gradually retreating to lines of defense. He was called upon to defend his department against committees of protest, against suits and against grand jury investigations.[42]

With the approach of the Civil War, Hossefross had another battle to fight, the defense of the South and of his home state, Maryland, which teetered between secession and loyalty for many months.[43] Democratic, Native American, or Union, Maryland had to be defended by George Hossefross. This cost him many a bitter argument with friends in San Francisco and many a heartache. He liked the Abolitionist no better than his old enemy David Broderick, but pressure was bearing hard upon him. By 1860 he was a member of the Union party,[44] shoulder to shoulder with Abolitionists and Free Soilers, fighting for one government and Abraham Lincoln.

If he had not answered so many fire calls for blazes started by defective flues and hot stove pipes thrust through windows and flimsy walls, his health might not have broken and taken him from the San Francisco scene at such an untimely age. Broken rest and winter chills sapped his strength. He was a sick man on August 18, 1863,[45] when he presided at ceremonies presenting the first Monumental bell to the Society of California Pioneers at their headquarters in Gold Street. The first bell had cracked in July 1855 and had been a keepsake in the Monumental firehouse. A second bell hung in the tower above.[46]

On March 16, 1864, at 6:20 in the evening, this second bell tolled out the news the Monumental boys had dreaded but expected for many hours. Good old George Hossefross, "friend and chief, brave man who never knew fear," was dead.[47] They knew that the department would never be the same again. Within two years the history of the volunteer fire fighters was closed. The paid department had taken over. All San Francisco turned out to pay final tribute to Hossefross. Every bell in town tolled during the services and the long procession out to Calvary Cemetery, where he was buried beside his twin sister, Clothilde A. Vaillant.[48]

The following October the cornerstone for a monument was laid with ceremonies at the grave of George Hossefross.[49] On that same day an old fireman complained in the *Alta*[50] that boys of eleven and little more were pulling the hose cart down Sansome Street to a fire. "Not an able bodied fireman was with the apparatus," he wailed. Surely, with good old George gone the department was falling to pieces in a most disgraceful manner.

Like so many men who died during the lifetime of Abraham Lincoln, the memory of George Hossefross faded into the vast shadow cast by the Civil War and the man who saved the nation. With Hossefross went the domination of the San Francisco Fire Department by Baltimore. New York had won the last battle. David Scannell and New York led the department for many years. Hossefross became merely an odd name in old records. His commanding voice, his swift stride and his love of the fire department faded with every vanishing Exempt fireman. By the time Scannell died even the competition between Baltimore and New York was entirely forgotten. The holocaust of April 1906 swept with it the last tangible relics of good old Hossefross, his trumpet, canes, hats and torches, which he had willed to the Monumentals in 1864.

NOTES

1. San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript,* October 17, 1853, p. 2.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. San Francisco *Alta California,* March 17, 1864, p. 1.

4. Sarah Ellen Blackwell, *A Military Genius, Life of Anna Ella Carroll* (Washington, D. C., 1893), p. 2.

5. San Francisco *Uncle Sam,* July 5, 1856, p. 3.

6. Society of California Pioneers *Constitution and By-Laws . . . and List of Members Since Its Organization* (San Francisco, 1912), p. 123.

7. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York and San Francisco, 1855), p. 241; San Francisco *Pacific News,* December 25, 1849.

8. *Pacific News,* December 25, 1849.

9. On December 31, 1849, the San Francisco Town Council passed a resolution appropriating $800 for the purchase of "axes, ropes, hooks, ladders and a wagon, to be given over to the keeping of the fire company now organizing by Mr. Edward Otis, styled the 'Independent Unpaid Axe Company'." *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the District of San Francisco, from March 12th, 1849, to June 4th, 1849, and a Record of the Proceedings of the Ayuntamiento or Town Council of San Francisco, from August 6th, 1849, until May 3d, 1850* (San Francisco, 1860), p. 106.

10. Bowlen, Frederick J., "Fire Fighters of the Past" (typescript in Bancroft Library, University of California), pp. 15, 36; San Francisco *Alta California,* July 1, 1850, p. 3.

11. *Minutes . . . of the Legislative Assembly . . . and a Record of the Proceedings of the Ayuntamiento or Town Council of San Francisco*, p. 130.

12. San Francisco *Argonaut,* I (June 23, 1877), 5.

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. LeCount & Strong's *San Francisco City Directory for the Year 1854,* p. 211; Henry G. Langley, comp. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year 1858,* p. 365.

15. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *op. cit.,* p. 621.

16. San Francisco *Picayune,* October 5, 1850, p. 3.

17. *The Exempt Firemen of San Francisco,* p. 13.

18. Frederick J. Bowlen, "Old Fire Bells of San Francisco" (typewritten MS in library of California Historical Society), p. 3.

19. San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript,* October 17, 1853, p. 2.

20. San Francisco *Herald,* June 11, 1851, p. 2.

21. Mary Floyd Williams, *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919), p. 21.

22. San Francisco *Call,* December 22, 1890, p. 2.

23. *Op. cit.*

24. San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript, loc. cit.*

25. *Loc. cit.*

26. San Francisco *Herald,* September 19, 1852, p. 3.

27. San Francisco *Argonaut,* June 23, 1877.

28. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *op. cit.*, p. 618.

29. San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript, loc. cit.*

30. *Loc. cit.*

31. *Loc. cit.*

32. *The Pioneer,* II (October 1854), p. 235.

33. San Francisco *Bulletin,* September 10, 1856, p. 3.

34. San Francisco *Alta California,* March 17, 1864, p. 1.

35. Henry G. Langley, comp., *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing June, 1859,* p. 153.

36. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849–1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 39.

37. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (San Francisco, 1887), II, 128.

38. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

39. San Francisco *Wide West,* November 9, 1856, p. 2.

40. Langley, *San Francisco Directory,* 1858, p. 362.

41. San Francisco *Bulletin,* April 3, 1860, p. 2.

42. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1860, p. 2.

43. Blackwell, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

44. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

45. San Francisco *Alta California,* March 17, 1864, p. 1.

46. Bowlen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

47. San Francisco *Argonaut,* June 23, 1877, p. 5.

48. San Francisco *Alta California*, October 6, 1864, p. 1.

49. *Op. cit.*

50. San Francisco *Alta California*, October 5, 1864, p. 1.

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From ALEXANDER MacLEAN III—MacLean, Alexander, "The Story of Rancho del Oso."

From MR. THOMAS W. NORRIS—Notice of a Mass Meeting of the Citizens of San Francisco Held June 12, 1849, in Portsmouth Square (facsimile of the original), Livermore, 1943.

From MR. A. PORTER ROBINSON—List of Mexican Tariffs for 1847; Daily journal kept while on board the Pacific Mail steamship *Panama,* New York to Panama, February–May, 1849; Letter book containing copies of letters written by Alfred Robinson from Chagres, Panama, and San Francisco, December 30, 1848, to June 16, 1849, addressed to Messrs. Howland & Aspinwall, Captain Forbes, John Parrott, and others; Invoice of merchandise shipped by Henry Mellus on board ship *Arcadia* bound for San Pedro; and several packages of letters from eastern firms and individuals addressed to Alfred Robinson.

MAPS AND PICTURES

From BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM—74 Photographs: California views by Watkins, chiefly of Monterey and Santa Cruz.

From MR. FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR—Photostat of "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America about 1600 A.D. along the Atlantic & about 1800 A.D. westwardly," published by the Amer. Antiq. Soc., from a drawing by Hon. A. Gallatin."

From MR. FRANK A. HOLLOWBUSH—Photostat of pictorial letter-sheet, "Hutching's California Scenes, The California Indians," 1854.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—2 Photographs: "Gen. Fremont's Headquarters, Los Angeles, California" and "Bells at Home of Ramona, Camulos, California."

From MRS. MAY ROBINSON EMERSON—2 Photographs of Carmel Mission and 1 of Monterey showing the Cuartel.

From MR. GEORGE A. MERRILL—Photostat of "A New Map of the Gold Region in California," by Charles Drayton Gibbes, 1851.

From MR. FRANK M. MOORE—"The Picture Bridge," Frank M. Moore's folder of paintings at The Huntington Hotel, Pasadena, California.

From MRS. CLARENCE M. ODDIE—Photograph of the presidential group at Palo Alto: President Benjamin Harrison, Charles Crocker, Leland Stanford, and others.

From OLD OREGON TRAIL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION—Map of the Oregon trail.

From MRS. CLYDE N. WHITE—250 photographs of San Francisco taken a few weeks after the fire and earthquake of April 18, 1906.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—79 postcard views of the Panama Pacific International Exposition.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. FRED J. BOWLEN—Cards for Information File.

From MR. ALLEN L. CHICKERING—Sierra Club *Nature Notes,* Number 12, *An Enumeration of Norden Plants* (November 18, 1943).

From MR. A. M. DUPERU—San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Dec. 2, 1865, sheets containing delinquent tax list; December 14, 1865; December 15, 1865 (incomplete).

From MRS. MILTON H. ESBERG—Newspaper review of Mme. Sarah Bernhardt's performance of "Sister Beatrice," in San Francisco.

From MR. GEORGE A. MERRILL—"Incidents of '49, "The 'Constellation' and Her Passengers in Interesting Reminiscences," photostat of article dated July 4, 1874.

From MR. P. M. WEDDELL—"The Marking of the Donner Trail, 1921–1924," by P. M. Weddell (scrapbook of newspaper clippings and photographs).

From MRS. C. H. WHITE—Brooch presented to Mrs. Gaillard Stoney, secretary of Woman's Board, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, honorary president, 1915.

Meetings

At the Annual Meeting of the California Historical Society on January 28, in the Comstock Room of the Palace Hotel, with seventy-two members and guests in attendance, the interesting address was given by the Hon. Jackson H. Ralston upon "California Associations with Washington, D. C., in the 1870's."

Mr. Ralston spoke from personal knowledge of his subject, recounting his meetings with notable figures in the National Capital over more than half a century. He told of a meeting with General John A. Sutter, in Washington, in which the famous pioneer gave an account of early days in the Sacramento Valley and referred to his appearances before Congressional committees to seek from the United States Government restitution of funds which he believed were his due.

The outstanding United States Senators from California were mentioned in turn, with sidelights upon their characteristics and attainments, and reference also was made to United States Senators from Nevada who had such close relationship with the affairs of our state. Mr. Ralston told also of his acquaintanceship with several Presidents of the United States and indicated ways in which they were especially concerned with Californian affairs. His remarks pertained, among others, to Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

Mr. Ralston brought his story down to the present, indicating the great significance which Pacific affairs, notably those of California, have assumed in the National Capital.

The Annual Business Meeting of the California Historical Society was held on Friday, January 28, 1944, in the Comstock Room of the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, pursuant to a notice sent to all members. Anson S. Blake, First Vice-President of the Society, presided.

The Secretary, Aubrey Drury, presented the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting of January 22, 1943, but on motion duly made, seconded and carried, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The Chairman then announced the result of the election for Directors of the Society, the ballots having been counted by Miss Dorothy H. Huggins and Mrs. Jeanne Van Nostrand, who had previously been appointed tellers. Of the 221 ballots cast, the following 15 persons had received the majority of votes:

Anson S. Blake
William Cavalier
Allen L. Chickering
Templeton Crocker
Ralph H. Cross
Aubrey Drury
Sidney M. Ehrman
Morton R. Gibbons
Lowell E. Hardy
A. T. Leonard, Jr.
George D. Lyman
Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin
C. O. G. Miller
Mrs. George A. Pope
Walter A. Starr

The Chairman therefore announced that the foregoing had been elected Directors to serve during the ensuing year and until their successors are elected and qualify.

The Secretary then presented a report for the year 1943, from which he read only excerpts in view of the fact that it was to be printed in the Quarterly. The report follows:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

For the Year Ended December 31, 1943

MEMBERSHIP

The California Historical Society enters the year 1944 stronger in membership than in any recent year, and with interest unabated. Even in these times of stress the Society has maintained its work of historical research, collection of historical material pertaining to California and the West, and, above all, the publication of the California Historical Society QUARTERLY, concerning which commendation has come from historical societies and libraries throughout the United States.

In the year 1943 the membership of our Society recorded a net gain of 75 members—more than three times the ratio shown in 1942. According to our last annual report, at the end of 1942 we had 625 members, of whom 15 were patron and 27 were sustaining members. During the year 1943, 112 new members were elected (including 1 sustaining member); 2 former members were reinstated; 17 resignations were accepted; 8 members were dropped for non-payment of dues, and 14 died. At the end of the year we had 700 members, of whom 14 were patron members, 39 were sustaining members, one was an honorary member, and 11 are inactive as members for the duration of the war because they are in the armed forces.

MEETINGS

Six directors' meetings were held during the year, and eight luncheon meetings. The first of these luncheon meetings included the annual business meeting of the Society with election of the Board of Directors.

The subjects and speakers at the luncheon meetings were:

Jan. 22—"The Roaring Seventies," by Dr. John Donald Hicks.

Feb. 16—"The Pageant of San Francisco Society Through the Years," by Gertrude Atherton.

March 14—"Irish Leaders in Early California," by Judge Thomas F. Prendergast.

April 27—"Adobe Houses of California," by Mrs. Helen S. Giffen.

May 18—"Lincoln's California Contacts," by Dr. Milton H. Shutes.

Sept. 23—"Plants as Documents of Human History," by Prof. Carl O. Sauer.

Oct. 28—"General E. O. C. Ord and His Career in California," by Eric A. Falconer.

Nov. 18—"Peter Skene Ogden," by Lewis A. McArthur.

NEW DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS

At the first meeting of the Board of Directors following the Society's Annual Meeting in January 1943, the following officers were elected: George D. Lyman, President; Anson S. Blake, First Vice-President; Sidney M. Ehrman, Second Vice-President; Mrs. John O. Gantner, Third Vice-President; Aubrey Drury, Secretary; and Allen L. Chickering, Treasurer.

Mr. John D. Galloway, a member of the Board, died in March, and on the twenty-fourth of that month Mr. Lowell E. Hardy was elected to succeed him on the Board.

GIFTS AND LOANS

For gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, maps, manuscripts, and other historical items, the Society is indebted to the following:

Mr. Edward O. Allen, Mr. Harris S. Allen, Mr. W. C. Arbuckle, Automobile Association of Southern California, Gen. David P. Barrows, the late Albert M. Bender, Binfords & Mort, Miss Alma Birmingham, Mr. Nathaniel Blaisdell, Mr. Anson S. Blake, Book Club of California (The Albert M. Bender Fund), Mr. Fred J. Bowlen, Miss Jean M. Boyd, Mr. Thomas P. Brown, California Academy of Sciences, California Genealogical Society, California State Senate, California State Chamber of Commerce, California State Historical Association, Mr. John Denton Carter, Century Club, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, Miss Fanny J. Chipman, Clan Campbell Association of America, Mrs. George Clough, Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz, Commonwealth Club of California, Community Music School, Mr. Peter T. Conmy, Miss Margaret Cook, Cornell University Library, Coward-McCann, Inc., Mrs. Philip S. Creedon, Miss Lilian A. Cross, Mr. Darrell Daley, Miss Lucie E. N. Dobbie, Mr. Harold Douglas, Mr. Aubrey Drury, Mr. Alphonse Duperu, Miss Alice Eastwood, Mrs. Milton H. Esberg, Mr. Joseph A. Ewan, Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, Mr. F. N. Fletcher, Mrs. Guy J. Giffen, Mr. Stuart N. Greenberg, Mr. Dan Gutleben, Mr. Herbert S. Hamlin, Mr. Lowell E. Hardy, Mrs. Jerome A. Hart, Mr. Harry Hewlett, Mr. Carl Hoffman, Mr. Theodore J. Hoover, Mr. Vernon Howard, Judge Frederic W. Howay, Mr. John Thomas Howell, Mr. George F. Huff, Mr. J. S. Hutchins, International Institute of San Francisco, Mr. Fred D. Jackson, Mr. J. Juedes, Mr. Abraham Kamber, Miss Florence R. Keene, Mr. Lawton R. Kennedy, Mrs. Lawton R. Kennedy, George H. Kress, M.D., Mrs. Philip Van Horne Lansdale, Mrs. Esther S. Lawlor, Miss Kay Lawlor, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Mrs. C. F. Lewis, Library of Congress, Los Angeles City College, Mrs. Clarence Loveridge, George D. Lyman, M.D., Mr. M. Hall McAllister, Mr. Lewis A. McArthur, Mr. Augustin S. Macdonald, C. K. McClatchy Senior High School, Mrs. William L. McPherrin, Mr. Donald M. Macauley, Mr. J. W. Mailliard, Jr., Miss Constance A. Meeks, Mrs. Mary F. Melson, Mr. George A. Merrill, Mr. Grant D. Miller, Mr. Guy C. Miller, Mr. Ralph L. Milliken, Miss Frances M. Molera, Mr. F. A. Morse, Miss Susan Mullaly, Mrs. Alfred Murphy, National Audubon Society, National Society of Colonial Dames of America, New York Public Library, Mr. George Nathan Newman, Mr. Thomas W. Norris, Norwegian-American Historical Association, Mrs. Fremont Older, Oregon Probation Association, Mr. William D. Page, Pendleton Woolen Mills, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Mrs. Sanford Plummer, Hon. Thomas F. Prendergast, Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Gardens, Mr. A. Porter Robinson, Mr. E. G. Ryder and Public Relations Dept., Santa Fe Railway, Sacramento Book Collectors Club, San Francisco Housing Authority, San Leandro Chamber of Commerce, San Mateo County Historical Association, Saskatchewan Historical Society, Mr. E. G. Schmiedell, Mr. Nat Schmulowitz, Mr. Emory E. Smith, Capt. G. Howard Smith, Stanford University Press, Mr. Joseph B. Stack, Mr. Walter A. Starr, State Historical Society of Missouri, Mrs. Gertrude A. Steger, Mr. Oliver P. Stidger, Dr. Loren B. Taber, Mr. Archibald J. Treat, Mr. D. Q. Troy, U. S. Work Projects Administration, Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, University of California, University of California Press, Mr. Henry R. Wagner, Mrs. Willis J. Walker, Mr. A. Wall, Mr. Willard O. Waters, Mr. P. M. Weddell, Mrs. Francis Williams, Mr. Nichols Field Wilson (editor *Ghost Town News*), Mr. Jack Wolff, Mrs. William A. Wood, Miss Lottie G. Woods, Yuba Manufacturing Company.

Mr. Henry R. Wagner also has made a gift to the Society of *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America from Its Discovery to the Present Time, by Joseph Sabin* (New York, 1868), 29 volumes, delivery of which is to be made at some future date.

In addition to the foregoing, Mr. Charles S. Cushing returned to the Society many issues of our QUARTERLY which he had accumulated during the years in which he has been a member.

Mr. Lawton R. Kennedy, printer of our QUARTERLY, has very generously given us a quantity of pictures, maps, and overruns from our publications, which are being distributed to school children and prospective members.

Welcome financial assistance has also been received from a number of our members, whose names are given on the last page of the December 1943 issue of the QUARTERLY. Mr. Philip Bancroft also made a generous contribution which was received too late to be mentioned in that issue. The total amount received is shown in the Report of the Treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,
AUBREY DRURY, *Secretary*

The Treasurer, Allen L. Chickering, expressed the Society's appreciation for the help that has been given by members and others in financing the Society's activities. He also reported that the accounts and financial records of the Society for the year 1943 had been examined by Farquhar & Heimbucher, certified public accountants, and read excerpts from their report. The following is a summary of the receipts and disbursements of the General Fund and of the Publication Fund for the year as shown in the financial statement prepared by Farquhar & Heimbucher:

GENERAL FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

For the Year Ended December 31, 1943

Receipts		
Dues:		
Active Members	$ 6,207.50	
Patron Members	1,325.00	
Sustaining Members	975.00	$ 8,507.50
Contributions:		
General Purposes	1,660.00	
Special Purposes	202.75	1,862.75
Sales:		
Quarterlies	380.25	380.25
Miscellaneous Revenue		10.11
Total Receipts		$10,760.61
Expenditures		
Operating Expenses:		
Salaries	$ 4,042.30	
Rent	1,800.00	
Telephone	93.24	
Postage and Express	128.47	
Office Expenses	148.42	
Printing	75.55	
Insurance	109.13	
Miscellaneous	50.89	$ 6,448.00
Luncheon Expenses		223.77
Quarterly Publication Cost		2,764.88
Total Regular Expenses		$ 9,436.65
Special Expenses:		
Equipment	$ 9.19	
Purchases from Donated Funds	77.75	
Professional Services	35.00	121.94
Total Expenditures		$ 9,558.59
Excess of Receipts over Expenditures		1,202.02
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		*455.18*†
Fund Balance at End of Year		746.84

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†Figures in italics indicate negative amounts.

PUBLICATION FUND RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended December 31, 1943

Sales of Publications		$ 428.38
Cost of Sales:		
Inventory at Beginning of Year	$ 1,989.10	
Additions to Inventory	1,000.00	
	$ 2,989.10	
Inventory at End of Year	2,695.65	293.45
Gross Profit from Sales		134.93
Interest on Savings Account		23.17
Net Gain to Fund		158.10
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		3,657.74
Fund Balance at End of Year		$ 3,815.84

BALANCE SHEET

As at December 31, 1943

Assets		
Cash—Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company		
Commercial Account	$ 1,499.96	
Savings Account	2,087.52	
Office Cash Fund	20.00	$ 3,607.48
Accounts Receivable		
General Fund	127.50	
Publication Fund	112.87	240.37
Inventory of Publications		2,695.65
Total Assets*		$ 6,543.50
Liabilities		
Accounts Payable—Publishers	$ 907.84	
Withholding Tax Payable	179.20	
State Sales Tax Payable	8.78	
Prepaid Dues	885.00	1,980.82
Funds		
General Fund	746.84	
Publication Fund	3,815.84	4,562.68
Total Liabilities and Funds		$ 6,543.50

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*Library, Collections, Furniture, and Equipment are not valued on the books.

The Chairman then called for any other business which any member might wish to present. Mr. R. L. Underhill spoke upon the advantage of obtaining the co-operation of other historical societies in the state, particularly in northern California, and suggested that, if possible, a consolidation of some of them with the California Historical Society would be beneficial.

There being no further business, on motion duly made, seconded and carried, the meeting adjourned.

Aubrey Drury, *Secretary*

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

In spite of the tragedy of war, the California Historical Society is in flourishing condition.

During the past year we have greatly enlarged our membership, increased our book and other historical collections; augmented our usefulness to State, City and individual by giving a helping hand to historical and civic organizations, local newspapers and interested individuals. Several authors have used freely the facilities of the Society; two have indicated their indebtedness to the same. Among these is Bernard De Voto, the social historian, and author of the best seller: "The Year of Decision, 1846." He drew freely on one of the Society's important publications, "James Clyman: American Frontiersman," edited by Charles L. Camp, all of which he duly acknowledged.

Even in this difficult period we have been able to publish our quarterly regularly; continue our programme of interesting luncheon meetings; maintain our card index of books and manuscripts. Due to the increased volume of work we have found it necessary to increase our staff to three: a librarian, Mrs. Van Nostrand; a corresponding secretary, Miss Dorothy Huggins, and assistant secretary, Miss Eleanor Rossi.

Financially, due to the efforts of Sidney M. Ehrman, our Chairman of the Finance Committee, sufficient funds were raised from a generous membership to rescue us from a sea of red ink and set us safely on a road headed for another year of historical usefulness.

Our membership, due in a large measure to some telling publicity on the part of the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Aubrey Drury, has increased by leaps and bounds, as can be seen by the Secretary's report. Our goal for 1944 is a membership of 1000. To date we have roughly about three-quarters of that number. If every member, in this war emergency, would consider himself a committee of one to bring in at least one extra member, the exigency could be met in a noble manner.

Thanks to Lowell Hardy, the editor, the Quarterly has lived up to its high standard. There has been no curtailment in size or quality of contents. The serial publication of Dr. Griffin's Diary has been completed. In December the diary appeared in book form with the title "A Doctor Comes to California." This journal, on account of its connection with the Mexican War and the California conquest, stands in the same category of historical significance as the Clyman diary, heretofore our high-water mark in the publication line. In 1943 was also begun the publication of John Work's Journals, edited by Mrs. Maloney. On account of Work's connection with the Hudson's Bay Company the publication is slated for distinction. Noting the distinguished quality of her research work, Mrs. Maloney has been selected to do some important editing for the Yale University Library.

The luncheon meetings, under the Chairmanship of Anson L. Blake, have been exceedingly well planned and attended, the attendance averaging over sixty persons. In this connection Gertrude Atherton, one of the year's eminent guest speakers, who gave a talk on "The Pageant of San Francisco Society," has expanded that work into book form along with other pertinent and allied material. This new volume will be in the book stalls in July of 1944, with the title "The Golden Gate Country."

Our gift committee under the Chairmanship of Ralph H. Cross, Sr., has functioned well. Many objects of historical significance have been received and acknowledged. Particularly was the Society grateful for some one hundred thirty books and pamphlets. Among the former, probably the most outstanding were Cook's "A Voyage to the Pacific," etc., an edition of 1794 in four volumes; George Vancouver's "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World," three volumes, published in 1798. Both of the latter were gifts from the Albert Bender Fund selected and presented to the Society by the executor of his estate. Other significant gifts have been the Vischer pictures presented by Mrs. Philip Van Horn Lansdale and the impressive family possessions presented by Porter Robinson, grandson of two eminent California pioneers; Horace Hawes, lawyer, multimillionaire and philanthropist, and Alfred Robinson, a pioneer of 1829. The latter was the agent of Bryant and Sturgis of Boston. Robinson was allied by marriage with the de la Guerra y Noriega family of Santa Barbara, in its time "the leading family of Southern California," according to Bancroft. In 1846 Robinson published anonymously his "Life in California," a standard work, followed since by most historians of the annals of 1830-'42. Alfred Robinson's son, James, married Caroline Hawes, daughter of Horace Hawes. The son of this marriage is Porter Robinson, who presented the Society with Alfred Robinson's Journal, a valuable accession to those interested in the economics of Mexican-California as well as California after the conquest. Other gifts of Porter Robinson include the handsome oval portraits of his maternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Horace Hawes, painted by Hiram R. Bloomer in 1872. Horace Hawes was a pioneer of 1847 and became a prominent lawyer and legislator. He was the author of a number of important briefs. One, on the famous "Pueblo Case," was published in 1854. Hawes' treatise on the California missions and the rights of the Catholic Church to the property pertaining to them is a valuable contribution to that subject. It was published in 1856. "This argument," writes Cowan, "presents in a most masterly manner the legal rights of the Catholic missions to property, as drawn from the Spanish and Mexican law." Alone, this treatise has brought $170 at book auctions in New York. Hawes became one of California's first millionaires. By his will of 1871 he bequeathed the bulk of his estate for the foundation of Mount Eagle University and a Chamber of Industry. But by suit, which is one of the *causas celebres* of California, the will was broken.

In regard to exhibits, Miss Molera maintains an exhibit in the Society's rooms. It is changed about four times a year from her valuable collection of pamphlets and relics of early California.

Inasmuch as every year now is a centennial anniversary of some important event occurring a hundred years ago in California, in 1943 we commenced planning a series of commemorative celebrations. The first exhibition will honor Alfred Robinson and is now on display. The staff has assembled a number of important documents dealing with his life in California. It is hoped the members will embrace the opportunity to visit the Society's rooms and examine the display as well as the Hawes portraits.

The Robinson exhibit will be followed by other centenaries, notably one featuring John Bidwell, an overland pioneer of 1841; and another, Edward Vischer, the artist, who came to California first in 1842. His "Missions of Upper California" drawn after 1865 is a classic. Few are now in existence.

Dr. Leonard, through his Committee of Historic Names and Sites, has begun the colossal task of rescuing from oblivion, by registering the same, the graves of Spanish, Mexican and American California pioneers.

As the library is one of the most important adjuncts of the Society, it will be of interest to the members to know that our librarian, Mrs. Jeanne Van Nostrand, now has the majority of our books and newspapers carefully catalogued. Our library, numbering some six thousand volumes, is one of the most significant California collections in existence and contains many of the greatest rarities. The fact that Wagner and Camp used the collection in compiling the last edition of their bibliography, "The Plains and the Rockies," shows the importance of the collection. The fact that Harry T. Peters used our lithographic collection, in compiling his "California on Stone," shows the importance of that part of our collections.

Apropos of cataloguing, the Society is grateful for the volunteer work done by

Mrs. Guy J. Giffen and Mrs. Lawton Kennedy. It is essential that we have our collections as completely catalogued as possible if they are to serve those in search of knowledge. At the present time the library is specializing in collecting books and pamphlets concerning California's part in the present war. Knowledge of any such items will be appreciated. Constantly we are in touch with items and collections, the acquisition of which would augment the prestige of the California Historical Society.

From the reports of the committees it can be seen that the Society is a living, growing and thriving concern. We are grateful to all those who have helped by their interest and means to care for our possessions and increase their usefulness.

Especially are these facts true when so many of our California youth are fighting on foreign shores, on the sea and in the air. For them especially we must preserve our priceless California heritage, for only in a knowledge of the past, affirms the historian, can we find safeguards for the future.

March 27, 1944. GEORGE D. LYMAN.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Patron	
Schilling, Walter, M.D.	San Francisco	Miss Else Schilling
	Sustaining	
Baker, Mrs. William P.	San Francisco	Mrs. William F. Steele
Bradley, John D.	San Francisco	Mr. P. R. Bradley
Menke, Hugo L.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Oliver, Edwin Letts	San Francisco	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
	Active	
Bailard, Mrs. Willis R.	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
*Bancroft, Paul	San Francisco	George H. Kress, M.D.
Bancroft, Philip	Walnut Creek, Calif.	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn
Bowles, Mrs. George M.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Burnett, W. S.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Burroughs, Mrs. R. B.	San Francisco	Miss Jennie M. Blair
Clark, Rush Spencer	Berkeley, Calif.	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Croonquist, S. M.	Stanford University	Mr. R. L. Underhill
Cushing, Mrs. John E.	San Francisco	Mrs. Joseph D. Grant
Darling, Mrs. Blake	Menlo Park, Calif.	Mr. C. F. Michaels
Decker, Malcolm	New York, N. Y.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Dill, Mrs. Marshall	San Francisco	Miss Else Schilling
Dodge, Washington	New York, N. Y.	Membership Committee
Dohrmann, Robert L.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn
Drown, Miss V. Newell	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Edwards, Thomas R.	San Francisco	Mr. R. L. Underhill
Elder, Paul, Jr.	San Francisco	Mr. R. L. Underhill
Emge, L. A., M.D.	San Francisco	Walter Schilling, M.D.
Farraher, James	San Francisco	Mr. Joe G. Sweet
Foley, Judge Thomas M.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn
Foster, Mrs. E. Ronald	Berkeley, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Gregory, Donald M.	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Gross, Mrs. George E.	Oakland, Calif.	Mrs. W. L. Pattiani
Guittard, Horace C.	San Francisco	Mr. Henry F. Dutton
Hager, Mrs. Ethel	San Francisco	Miss Jennie M. Blair

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*Former member, reinstated.

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Hansen, Walter E.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Hastings, Mrs. John Russel	Santa Barbara	Mr. S. M. Haskins
Heimbucher, Mrs. Clifford V.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mr. Francis P. Farquhar
Hotchkis, Preston	Los Angeles	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Huntington, Mrs. Clara	Sausalito, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Kent, Mrs. William	Kentfield, Calif.	Membership Committee
Kent, William, Jr.	San Francisco	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Kiersted, Mrs. Henry S.	San Francisco	Miss Jennie M. Blair
Lamb, W. Kaye	Vancouver, B. C.	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Lambert, Mrs. Charles F.	Oakland, Calif.	Mrs. William A. Wood
Leland, P. E.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Lowell E. Hardy
McClatchy, Mrs. Carlos K.	Fresno, Calif.	Hon. George Cosgrave
Menke, Hugo L.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Metcalf, Lt. John R.	Rolla, Mo.	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
*Mitchum, Colis	San Francisco	Mrs. William A. Wood
Moore, Albert A.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Jr.
Moore, Frank M.	Carmel, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Morrow, Dwight W., Jr.	Monterey	Membership Committee
National Broadcasting Co., Inc.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Newton, Leonard V.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Niemela, E. R.	Petaluma, Calif.	Mr. C. P. Carruthers
Powell, Stanley	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Richards, C. F.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Rubke, Francis W.	San Francisco	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Sawin, Herbert A.	Oakland, Calif.	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Sharpsteen, William C.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Skaggs, Chester W.	San Francisco	Mr. R. L. Underhill
Spokane Public Library	Spokane, Wash.	Mrs. Alice B. Maloney
Stadtmuller, E. W.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Stephenson, Henry A., M.D.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
*Stoddard, Walter E.	Sacramento	Miss Caroline Wenzel
Swift, Harry G.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar B. Jessup
Tobin, C. R.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Thomas, Mrs. Helen Marye	Wadsworth, Nev.	Membership Committee
Thompson, Mrs. W. H.	Lodi, Calif.	Membership Committee
U. S. Board on Geographical Names	Washington, D. C.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
University of Colorado Libraries	Boulder, Colo.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
University of Redlands	Redlands, Calif.	Membership Committee
Winship, H. D.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Wohlgemuth, O. J.	Walnut Creek, Calif.	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn

Reclassification of Memberships

From Sustaining to Patron

Allyne, Miss Edith W.
Allyne, Miss Lucy H.
Boggs, Mae Hélène Bacon

From Active to Sustaining

Cameron, George T.
Cavalier, William
Cordes, Frederick C., M.D.
Cosgrave, Hon. George
Farquhar, Francis P.
Gerstle, William L.
Hardy-Halsey, Mrs. E. L.
Henshaw, Griffith
Jackson, Mrs. Charles M.
McCann, F. P.
Mein, William Wallace

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*Former member, reinstated.

In Memoriam

DAISY FLORENCE BADGER CASWELL

1858–1943

On March 24, 1943, Mrs. George W. Caswell died in her eighty-fifth year, leaving a daughter, Mrs. Edgar J. Malmgren, Jr.; two grandchildren; and a sister, Mrs. Henry S. Foote. She was the daughter of William Gilman Badger, who had come to California via the Isthmus of Panama in 1850 and was a member of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851–52. Her mother died when she was twelve years ald and she was sent east to school.

Mrs. Caswell was an active member of at least six organizations and contributed in one way or another to practically every charitable institution in San Francisco. She had been very active in the Woman's Exchange and was made honorary president. In later years she was especially interested in the Girls' Friendly Society and the Episcopal Old Peoples Home. She was a patron of the Opera, the Chamber Music Society, the Salon Français, and many other cultural groups and activities. She was especially in her element when she was doing things for others. Passing acquaintances received of her bounty, as well as friends who had met with reverses and whom she supported. There was something in her nature that always wanted to give and never cared to receive. She radiated love wherever she went and her memory will be cherished by all who knew her.

JULIA CASWELL COLLIER

FRED M. DE WITT

1869–1944

In the death of Fred M. De Witt on January 6 the Society lost one of its most active and energetic members. Born in New Jersey in 1869, he came to California in 1876. In San Francisco he attended Clement Grammar School and later Commercial High School. In 1885 he went to work for Chilion Beach, one of the oldest book dealers in San Francisco. Here he imbibed his love of books and especially of those relating to California. From that time on he became a true Californian and was ever active in advancing the study of the history of California. In 1901 Mr. De Witt started in business for himself at 318 Post Street, where he compiled and sold "De Witt's Map and Street Guide to San Francisco," one of the earliest and most complete of its kind. In the same year he took in James Snelling as partner and began to branch out. The partners moved to a larger store on Stockton Street facing Union Square, and from there to Sutter Street, between Powell and Stockton. Here Mr. De Witt suffered his first great loss, in the fire and earthquake of 1906. He had just purchased the library of Captain Isaiah W. Lees, and that and all the rest of his stock, none of which was insured, was destroyed. He then came to Oakland and bought out a small stock of second-hand books at 9 Telegraph Avenue (the number afterwards was changed to 1609). Business improved, and a few years later he opened a second store at 620 Fourteenth Street. To this store he moved all his stock in 1913 when the building on Telegraph Avenue was sold. His square dealing was recognized generally by collectors and others, and he made a success of all his endeavors. In 1936, after fifty years, thirty of which were spent in Oakland, he retired from business.

In 1904 Mr. De Witt married Margaret Barnes, who survives him. He also leaves a daughter, Ethel, and a son, James.

Mr. De Witt belonged to no organization except the California Historical Society. He was one of the first members elected on the reorganization of the Society in 1922. For a long time he was chairman of the Exhibition Committee and sponsored exhibitions at the first headquarters of the Society, at the Bohemian Club, at the St. Francis Hotel, and in the Municipal Auditorium, often neglecting his own business to install and supervise the exhibits. He was active in obtaining new members and was a regular attendant at the luncheon meetings up to the last. He will be remembered as a faithful member of the Society and a man of strict honor. May he remain long in our memory.

D. Q. TROY

ELLA BISHOP DRURY

1863–1944

Mrs. Ella Bishop Drury, who passed away at her home in Berkeley on February 16, was a resident of the West for eighty years. She was born in Flora, Clay County, Illinois, on April 5, 1863, and was christened Elvira Lorraine, named for her two aunts. Her father, Dr. Simeon Bishop, who had served as a surgeon with Grant's army at the battle of Shiloh, was a member of a pioneer family which had friendly associations with Abraham Lincoln. Her mother, Mrs. Helen Apperson Bishop, was a first cousin of Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst. With her parents, at the age of three months Ella traveled overland by stagecoach to Glendale, Nevada, near the present city of Reno. The family lived in Virginia City, Washoe, Reno, and for a time (in 1872) in Oakland, California.

Her father and uncle Alva Curtis Bishop were early-day physicians in Nevada; her uncle William Wallace Bishop, a prominent lawyer there; and her uncle Frederick Aubrey Bishop, who came into Carson Valley with Kit Carson, was a superintendent of Sandy Bowers' mining property at Gold Hill. Earlier, he had carried mail between Genoa, Nevada, and Placerville, California, before Snowshoe Thompson was on that route.

Ella Bishop was graduated from Mills Seminary, Oakland, in 1883, and taught school at Crow's Landing, Stanislaus County. She married Wells Drury, editor and legislator, in 1888 at Reno, and they removed to California, where her husband was on the editorial staffs of leading newspapers in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Sacramento, and later was managing director of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce. They had a wide acquaintance with the builders of the West in those days. Wells Drury passed away in 1932.

Mrs. Drury conducted an extensive correspondence, wrote much for the newspapers, and was the author of the Foreword to her husband's book of reminiscences, *An Editor on The Comstock Lode.* She was a member of the California Historical Society and numerous other organizations. Of her, the Oakland *Tribune* said editorially, "She was a quiet figure of influence and discernment."

Mrs. Drury leaves two sons and two daughters—Newton Bishop Drury, Director of the National Park Service; Aubrey Drury, writer, Secretary and Treasurer of the California Historical Society; Miss Muriel Drury and Mrs. Lorraine Drury Haynes, the wife of Lieutenant Horace Halden Haynes, U. S. Army. Her grandchildren, the children of Mr. and Mrs. Newton Drury, are Mrs. Betty Drury Edwards, wife of Lieutenant (j.g.) Austin L. Edwards, U.S.N.R.; Newton Drury, Jr., and Hugh Wells Drury.

JAMES A. B. SCHERER

1870–1944

Dr. James Augustin Brown Scherer, internationally known historian and educator, author and lecturer, who passed away in Santa Monica, California, on February 15, was a beloved member of the California Historical Society. His addresses before the Society are remembered with appreciation.

Born in Salisbury, North Carolina, May 22, 1870, he was the son of Rev. Simeon Scherer and Mrs. Harriet Isabella Brown Scherer. He was graduated from Roanoke College, Virginia, in 1890. Going to the Orient, he was instructor in English, Imperial Government School, Saga, Japan, from 1892 to 1897. He was married to Bessie Brown, of New Concord, Ohio, at Kobe, Japan, July 5, 1894.

Returning to America, he received the Ph.D. degree at Pennsylvania College in 1897. Dr. Scherer was professor of history in Lutheran Seminary, Charleston, South Carolina, from 1898 to 1904. In 1905 the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by South Carolina University. He was president of Newberry College, South Carolina, from 1904 to 1908, when he became president of the polytechnic institute at Pasadena which he reorganized into the famous California Institute of Technology. In the course of this project he visited the chief technical schools of the world in 1909. From 1926 to 1931 he was director of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.

In 1913 Dr. Scherer was a leader in the successful movement to amend the State Constitution so as to exempt colleges from taxation. During the first World War he rendered service in many fields, being chief field agent of the Council of National Defense State Councils Section, and special representative of the United States Shipping Board.

Dr. Scherer revisited the Orient in 1923-24 and 1931-36. Recognized as an authority on Japanese history and affairs, he discerned the tragic trend, culminating his writings in that field in 1938 with a warning of the Japanese menace, in the book, *Japan Defies the World.*

His notable books on California and Western history include *The First Forty-Niner* (about Samuel Brannan); "*The Lion of the Vigilantes,*" *William T. Coleman;* and *Thirty-first Star,* which places particular emphasis on the years between 1846 and 1864, and on such striking figures as John C. Frémont and Jessie Benton Frémont, William M. Gwin, and Thomas Starr King. Dr. Scherer's interpretation of the motives of the "empire builders" was frequently at variance with the findings of his predecessors, and he brought new viewpoints into the study of our state's history.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Bessie Brown Scherer; a daughter, Mrs. Isabel Mosher, of Berkeley, and a son, Paul Armand Scherer, head of the transition office of the National Defense Council, Washington, D. C.

AUBREY DRURY

With deep regret we also report the deaths of the following members: Mr. Felton Elkins, on January 6; Prof. Herbert I. Priestley, on January 9; and Mr. C. F. Michaels, on February 20. Their obituaries are being prepared for the June issue.

Marginalia

On February 20 the SS *George A. Pope* (named for our late member) was launched at the Permanente Metals Corporation Shipyard No. 2, in Richmond. Sponsor was Mrs. Henri Trumbull, daughter of Mr. Pope and Mrs. Pope (member of our Board of Directors); Mrs. George A. Pope, Jr., their daughter-in-law, was matron of honor; and their granddaughter, Edith Taylor Pope, was flower girl.

The Liberty freighter *C. K. McClatchy,* named for one of the West's most prominent editors and publishers, Charles Kenny McClatchy, was launched on March 16, christened by his daughter, Miss Eleanor McClatchy, a member of our Society.

In February, Miss Eleanor Rossi, granddaughter of former Mayor Angelo J. Rossi, was added to the Society's staff as a part-time assistant.

Frances Rand Smith (widow of James Perrin Smith, geologist and Stanford University professor) spent many years before her death in 1938 (see this QUARTERLY, XVII, 191-92) collecting material on the California missions. Her *Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo* (1921); *The Spanish Missions of California; The Burial Place of Father Junípero Serra* (1924); and *The Mission of San Antonio de Padua* (1932) were published before her death, and her remaining manuscripts and notes were afterward presented to the Society by her son, Mr. Forster R. Smith. Her article on Soledad Mission is presented in this issue.

Mr. Desiré Fricot, before his death in 1940 (see this QUARTERLY, XIX, 380-81) made the translation of the rare French pamphlet printed in the foregoing pages. It was his intention to furnish the cuts to illustrate the article, and his wishes are being carried out by Miss Raymonde Rooney, niece of the late Mrs. Fricot.

The editors regret that it is not possible to print all the interesting data that have been received concerning our new members. A few notes about them follow.

*Philip Bancroft, native San Franciscan, Contra Costa County rancher, and candidate for the office of United States senator, is a son of the noted historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft and his wife, Matilda Griffing Bancroft. Another son, Paul Bancroft, is re-entering membership after an absence of several years.

John D. Bradley is a son of Frederick Worthen Bradley (a member of our Society who died in 1933) and grandson of Henry Sewall Bradley who came to California from Massachusetts in 1855 and settled in Nevada County. H. S. Bradley was a prominent mining engineer and geologist, and his son Frederick, also a mining engineer, became a leader in his profession, first in Nevada County (where he was born), and later in Idaho and elsewhere. He was president of the Alaska Juneau Gold Mining Co. and of several similar companies. Mr. J. D. Bradley's mother, Mary Elizabeth Parks Bradley, the daughter of James Franklin Parks who came overland to California in 1854-55, was born in Amador County, where her father was manager of the Kennedy gold mine.

All four of the grandparents of Mrs. John Cushing (Grace Isabel Beaver) came to California in the early 1850's, and she and her parents (Mr. and Mrs. Frederick H. Beaver), as well as her husband and his parents, were born here. Her grandfather, George Beaver, was one of the founders of the San Francisco Savings Union (American Trust Company), and also of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, and the predecessors of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Mrs. Cushing's maternal grandfather, James Pierce, Grass Valley mining man and Santa Clara County rancher, was founder of the Pacific Manufacturing Company.

Malcolm Decker is the well-known New York dealer in rare Americana, "Peter" Decker.

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*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*

Robert L. Dohrmann is the son of the late A. B. C. Dohrmann (a member of this Society who died in 1937) and grandson of Frederick W. Dohrmann, outstanding San Franciscans who did much for the development of the state and the Bay area from 1865 on. F. W. Dohrmann assisted in writing the charter for the City of San Francisco and was one of the men largely responsible for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915.

Paul Elder, Jr., is the son of Paul Elder, San Francisco book dealer with whom he was associated in business prior to entering the Field Artillery, U. S. Army. He is a graduate of the University of California and for a while taught at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music.

Thomas M. Foley, judge of the Superior Court, was born in San Francisco and practiced law here for 20 years. In 1934 he was appointed director of Military and Veteran Affairs of the State of California, and in 1936 became judge of the Municipal Court. His grandfather, Thomas Foley, was a soap maker in San Francisco in 1852 and for many years thereafter. William E. Foley, Judge Foley's father, born here in 1863, was in the building business and was a grand officer of the Native Sons of the Golden West. Judge Foley's mother's father, Martin O'Brien, came to California in the early sixties.

Mrs. George E. Gross (Ethel Gage) is the daughter of Stephen T. Gage, who crossed the plains from Ohio in 1852, was elected to the California legislature in 1857, and became the personal friend and adviser of Leland Stanford. He was identified with the Southern Pacific Railroad for fifty years.

Ethel Hager, a native of San Francisco, is the daughter of John Sharpstein Hager who came to California from New Jersey in 1849, via the Isthmus of Panama. He practiced law in San Francisco and became prominent in state and civic affairs. In 1855 he was elected district judge of the Fourth District, and in his court was tried the famous suit that resulted from the failure of Adams & Co. He was for a number of years a state senator, and in 1873 was elected U. S. senator to fill the unexpired term of Eugene Casserly. He was also a member of the second California Constitutional Convention. His wife was Elizabeth Lucas Hicks, the daughter of James H. Lucas, of the banking firm of Lucas, Turner & Co.

Mrs. John Russel Hastings (Katherine Bagg) is secretary and treasurer of the Santa Barbara Historical Society, which was incorporated last June.

Preston Hotchkis, president of the California State Chamber of Commerce, was born in Los Angeles, the son of Finlay Montgomery Hotchkis and the former Katherine Preston whose father, Jasper N. Preston, was architect of many of the largest buildings in southern California. He (Preston Hotchkis) was one of the founders and is a director of the Pacific Finance Corporation, the Pioneer Securities Corporation, and of the Pacific Indemnity Co., of which he is executive vice president and treasurer. He is also a director of several other companies, a member of the Governor's Tax Committee and of the City Council of San Marino, and is a trustee of California Junior Republic and of the Southwest Museum.

Mrs. William Kent (Elizabeth Thacher) is the widow of Congressman Kent who gave Muir Woods to the United States as a national monument. With Mrs. Kent he devoted much attention to the conservation of our natural resources and was particularly interested in the Save-the-Redwoods League. Mr. Kent came to California with his parents in 1871. William Kent, Jr., is also one of our new members.

Mrs. Charles F. Lambert is the newly elected state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Phebe Briggs McClatchy is the widow of Carlos K. McClatchy, who was the son of Charles Kenny McClatchy and grandson of James McClatchy, '49er and one of the founders of the Sacramento *Bee*. She is the daughter of N. D. Rideout who came to California about 1851 and engaged in banking in Marysville and elsewhere. Mrs. McClatchy's husband, at the time of his death, was editor of the Fresno *Bee* and manager of the *Bee* newspaper chain.

Frank M. Moore is a mural painter of California scenes. His great-uncle, George Boardman, came to California in the sixties and later was head of the Aetna Insurance Co. At his home on Nob Hill, Frank Moore's parents met and were married in 1875. Dr. John Murray Moore (his father) was one of the first physicians to practice homeopathy in California and was later connected with Hahnemann Hospital.

*Edwin Letts Oliver was born in San Francisco, the son of William Letts and Carrie Benedict (Brown) Oliver. He is a graduate of the University of California (1900), served as surveyor and metallurgist of the North Star Mines Co. in Grass Valley (1903-10), and has invented a filter for use in the cyanide process. He is president and general manager of Oliver United Filters, Inc., and president of the Idaho Maryland Mines Corp. His father came to San Francisco in 1869 from Chile and managed mines in California for a British syndicate. In 1883 he founded the California Cap Co., of which his sons Roland and William are president and vice president. Their mother was the daughter of Roland Gair Brown, who brought his family to California from Boston in 1865 and was one of the founder members of the San Francisco Stock Exchange.

Chester W. Skaggs, of Davis, Skaggs & Co. (stocks and bonds) is the grandson of Alexander Skaggs, a Kentuckian who came to California in 1850 and engaged in stock raising in Nevada County. In 1857 he moved to Sonoma County and became owner of lands on which the resort "Skaggs Springs" was established in 1860. He was also one of the earliest hop growers in that county. Chester Skaggs' maternal grandfather was William Board, a Missourian who came to California in 1849 via Mexico and engaged in freighting between Stockton and the mines. Returning to Missouri in 1852, he drove back one hundred head of cattle to Santa Clara County. He left that county in 1856 and spent the rest of his life in Sonoma County.

Edwin W. Stadtmuller, born in San Francisco in 1876, is the son of Frederick D. Stadtmuller who came overland in 1852 from St. Joseph Missouri, with three other young men. Frederick Stadtmuller mined in California, then went to the Fraser River, Canada, and to Nevada during the days of the Big Bonanza, where he was in the mercantile business in Gold Hill, Washoe, Galena, and elsewhere. He came to San Francisco in 1879 and died here in 1893.

Harry G. Swift, district manager of the Marchant Calculating Machine Company, admits relationship to the "pirate" Francis Drake who sailed along these shores in 1579.

Mrs. Helen Marye Thomas is a daughter of George Thomas Marye, Jr., who was twice president of the San Francisco Stock Exchange and was a regent of the University of California. He was also associated with his father in the banking business in Virginia City, Nevada, and was author of *From '49 to '83 in California and Nevada* and a book about Imperial Russia written after his resignation as ambassador to that country.

Mrs. William Henry Thompson (Celia Crocker) is the daughter of Henry Robinson Crocker, native of Massachusetts, who came to California via the *Yankee Blade*, the Isthmus of Panama, and the *Uncle Sam*, in 1853. Settling at Bronson, Tuolumne County, he engaged in placer mining for several years. In the early eighties, with his wife May Hall Crocker, he opened Crocker's Station on the Big Oak Flat stage line from Milton, Calaveras County, to Yosemite Valley. Their daughter Celia was born at Bronson (Crocker's) and attended Woodbridge College near Stockton.

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*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*

Celestial Drama in the Golden Hills

The Chinese Theatre in California, 1849-1869

By Lois Rodecape

INTRODUCTION

"HO! FOR CALIFORNIA!" sang out the advertising columns of New York papers, while news items about gold were generously interlarded in fine print. "Gold is folly" shouted preachers from their pulpits, aghast at the spectacle of young husbands leaving their wives, young sons parting from their mothers, to join the giddy rush across the continent. "It is all a magnificent falsehood" said one authority; but "the tales of gold are by no means exaggerated" said another. And while the conservatives bemoaned this new crusade and nursed fears of catastrophe in the far new land, a growing tide of excited humanity wore new paths in the prairies and oceans to foregather in California, where gold was to be had for the gathering and all men's pockets were fabulously heavy with the precious metal.

Not only in the Occident was the new fever epidemic. Across a wider sea and a longer gap of civilization, young men in isolated China had heard of the wealth of California. One young man in Canton wrote to his brother, a tea merchant in Boston, in the year 1848: "Good many American men speak of California. Oh! very rich country! I hear good many American and Europe men go there. Oh! they will get gold very quick, I hear. Oh, some people say, get money very quick; every day two or three pounds of gold each. I feel as if I should like to go very much. I think I shall go to California next summer . . ." Many easterners were beginning to think, too, in this staccato exaltation of hope. But little brother in China had also considered possible disadvantages in the proposed emigration: "Oh, California is not very pleasant place; new place; it is warm, however, just the same as Canton. That is good for China men. I afraid our mother won't like us to go there. People tell me that two months' sail is the distance from here there . . ."[1]

In many ways the journey from China to California was less arduous than that from New York or Boston; yet such a leap in the dark, into a strange land of unknown terrors, among strange men and conditions, must have seemed foolhardy indeed to the self-sufficient Oriental, particularly in view of imperial restrictions on emigration. Pioneer spirits there were, though, in China as elsewhere, and slowly a few Chinese filtered out.

In February 1849, there were fifty-four Chinese men and one woman in California. A year later there were almost eight hundred, and in January 1851 it was estimated that some 7,500 had arrived in the state.[2]

Not all of the Chinese immigrants were interested in gold. Some of them allegedly were contract laborers, imported by shrewd impresarios to furnish cheap muscles and docile obedience in giant schemes for exploiting the new land and its occupants. Many settled down quietly as restaurateurs; on the testimony of the pioneers, their food was eagerly devoured, though unfamiliar in form and flavor, being described by one earnest soul as consisting mostly of "curries, hashes, and fricasees."[3] Other Chinese devoted themselves to truck farms, and so on.

The immigrant Orientals were viewed with curiosity and some amusement. Early newspapers came to refer to them ironically as "the Celestials." Their fellow pioneers found them "quiet, inoffensive, and particularly industrious,"[4] though "odd."

The great majority of the disembarking Chinese bore the characteristic stamp of the "coolie" in appearance and temperament. Occidentals who had never seen Far Eastern natives examined these with continued inquisitiveness. The typical "China Boy" boasted a head close-shaven except for a carefully cultivated area of several inches in diameter, the long hair of which was braided in a queue perhaps lengthened and beautified by introduction of black silk strands. This glossy braid often dangled to his knees, though in moments of concentrated effort it was wound into a topknot securely fastened out of harm's way. A blue or black cotton smock and shortish trousers were the usual apparel, topped by a skull cap, a felt or a wide rattan hat with an indentation to accommodate his queue neatly. Legs were bare, or wound with cloth, and sandals or pointed wooden shoes completed the costume.[5]

Wealthy merchants and semi-aristocrats formed a small minority of the immigration, and were easily distinguished by their elegant long skirts, often made of blue stuff and sometimes of fine silks and satins. One exceptionally elegant young man appearing in San Francisco's streets in the company of a staid and bespectacled old gentleman has been immortalized in the columns of the San Francisco *Herald* (steamer edition) of May 31, 1851; if we are to believe the reporter, this young Chinese dandy wore purple slippers, white stockings, orange-colored short trousers, and a green-braided jacket; on his head a scarlet skullcap, embroidered in gold. Less theatrical was a young Chinese beau in Sacramento who was seen, one rainy day, wearing a rich black silk suit, an embroidered fur cape girdled at the waist, elegantly carved sandals, multi-hued ribbons in his queue, a mandarin cap, and sheltering his magnificence under a huge umbrella.[6]

Women of respectable character were noticeably few; the Chinese were slow to introduce females to the rigors of the new country, and indeed all tradition and Chinese law discouraged their transport from their own land.[7] The lily-footed members of the race appeared but rarely, and the upper-class matrons were conspicuously conservative in black silk and blue satin. Only an occasional festival brought out the typically picturesque in weird coiffures of special significance—described by a local observer as "running out backwards ten or twelve inches, like the sharp bow of a steamboat" and held in place "by a profuse expenditure of hog's lard and ornamental hair pins."[8]

Some of the more enterprising and courageous Chinese actually forsook their Oriental clothes. Frank Marryat saw Chinese in the mines in European attire, including patent leather boots, gold watch-chains and Occidental haircuts.[9] Some of them developed into dashing horsemen of the dare-devil variety.

Practically all of the immigrants to California came from Canton or neighboring provinces—a circumstance perhaps to be explained by the fact that first contact of Chinese with foreigners was established through ports in that region. The journey to America required several weeks at best; indeed great rejoicing and congratulation was in order when the clipper ship *Challenge* accomplished the journey from Hongkong to Japan and thence to San Francisco in thirty-three days, safely landing 553 Chinese without casualty.[10] The fare averaged fifty dollars a passenger,[11] and by 1852 twenty ships were devoted to the trade of carrying human cargo.

Expatriate Chinese were almost invariably members of clubs or benefit organizations established in California to serve their mutual interests. These brotherhoods functioned as travelers' aid headquarters, money lenders, employment agencies, advisory bodies of one sort or another, arbitrators of disputes, and intermediaries in business contacts between Chinese and other California residents.[12] It was remarked in 1855 by a Chinese merchant of standing that of the forty thousand Chinese in California at that time probably not a thousand had failed to affiliate with one of the later-famous Chinese associations.[13] There were five district organizations of Chinese; these five groups, namely the Yeung-Wo, Sze-Yap, Sam-Yap, Ning-Yeung, and Yan-Wo companies,[14] were subsequently augmented by two more, while various reorganizations in member companies were effected, but in popular parlance the general executive council of these bodies is always referred to as the Chinese Six Companies, an enduring reservoir of power in Oriental affairs in America.[15]

The history of the Chinese in California is full of sound and fury and legislation. The narration of all the events in the sequence would require much space and many words. In 1850 the Chinese were welcomed on official occasions by both the mayor of San Francisco and the governor of the state; only a few months passed before a change in sentiment was evident. Gold miners were already expressing rude resentment of "foreign" rivalry in the field; by the spring of 1852 the governor was sufficiently incensed to address anti-Chinese protests to the state legislature; and from 1852 feeling in the west was expressed in a series of anti-Chinese laws and taxes and individual instances of persecution. The Chinese were criticized for low standards of living, insanitary habits, willingness to work for small wages, tendency to remain isolated in their own quarters and customs, love of gambling, and so on and on. Their champions diminished in numbers as the years wore on, and the Orientals found existence in America increasingly uncomfortable and always difficult.

It is perhaps not surprising that these yellow-skinned strangers in this new raw land brought their own festivals, traditions, and amusements to lighten the burden of existence. Nor is it surprising that the gambling houses and theatres of Little China, later known as Chinatown, in the favorite city of the Chinese, San Francisco, should have flourished with a resounding cheer not always acceptable to that city's resentful Occidental residents.

I

The first appearance of Chinese theatrical performers in San Francisco seems to have been made at the American Theatre in Sansome Street. This pioneer playhouse, erected as a rival to Maguire's Jenny Lind by Dr. David G. Robinson and a Mr. Wiesenthal, was opened in October 1851, as one of a proud little sprinkling of pretentious buildings in the strange nondescript city. The theatre was built to accommodate two thousand patrons; beneath an oval dome, red plush curtains and seats, white-pillared boxes and gilt dadoes dazzled rough patrons hungering for luxury.

On the stage of this elegant edifice in October 1852, there appeared "for the first time in California, or anywhere else outside of China," a troupe of Chinese Jugglers, under the management of Dr. John H. Gihon. This company, including twenty male and female performers, if we are to credit the advertisements, had completed a sensational tour of the Chinese Empire. They had performed for a hundred consecutive nights in Hongkong and were brought to California in the course of a pioneering jaunt "to the Atlantic States and Europe." Before a house purportedly crowded almost to suffocation, the Chinese "put many Occidental magicians completely in the shade" in a long program, thus detailed in the local newspapers:

PART FIRST

1. A grand Tableaux [sic] by the entire Troupe, in full costume, in which will appear the celebrated DOUBLE-JOINTED CHINESE DWARF "CHIN-GAN," and his Sedan Chair.
2. The Magic Balls.
3. The Chinese "La Rieta."
4. The Centrifugal Water Cup.
5. The Flying Knives.

PART SECOND

1. The Boy Tumbler, with his original feat of a Head Somerset.
2. The Balance Plate and the Flexible Rod.
3. The Amputation.
4. Impaling with Knives.

PART THIRD

Various and entertaining feats of Magic, Necromancy, Juggling and Legerdemain.[1]

The joint stock company currently in control at the American contributed a play called "Day After the Fair" as a curtain-raiser, and the show ended with a display of Chinese fireworks.

After this highly successful appearance on October 8, the Chinese Jugglers offered a different program on the succeeding evening, the most significant novelty of which was the tight-rope dancing by a six-year-old Chinese girl.

True to announcements, the Jugglers continued their tour after their local appearances; they were reported in New Orleans in January 1853, "creating considerable talk and excitement."[2]

A few nights after the Jugglers' venture, the American was the scene of another "first performance in America." This time the company was a dramatic troupe, which brought to America a type of exotic drama rarely witnessed by Occidentals before the auspicious night of their American opening, October 18.

The Tong Hook Tong Company[3] was brought to this country by three enterprising Chinese impresarios, Messrs. Likeoon, Norman Assing, and Tong Chick. The troupe consisted of 123 performers, including an orchestra. Importation of the players, full stage equipment and costumes, brought the original investment to a sum approximating £2,000. It was reported that the members of the playing troupe were shareholders in the venture, and that they were backed by a group of merchants in Canton.[4]

The advertised program for this important American opening was as follows:

The Eight Genii Offering Their Congratulations to the High Ruler Yuk Hwang, on his Birthday.

PART SECOND

Soo Tsin Made High Minister by the Six States.

PART THIRD

Parting of the Bridge of Par Kew, of Kwan Wanchung and Tsow Tsow.

PART FOURTH

The Defeated Revenge.[5]

Prices for the first nights ranged from $2.00 for cheapest gallery seats to $6.00 for those in boxes, though the prices were cut in half after two evenings had dulled the attraction of unaccustomed novelty. The program of the troupe was changed nightly throughout the week of their appearance, American stock players and Chinese tumblers furnishing variety to the later productions.

The actors who impersonated females in these performances proved particularly interesting to San Francisco, where few ladies of the upper classes were to be seen. The reporter for the *Herald* found these Chinese "ladies" to be "altogether the best specimens we have yet been favored with." It was not yet current information that the actors were all men, and that the charming Chinese females were represented through highly perfected and specialized impersonations by trained youths.

After the appearances at the American, the Chinese company proceeded to erect a theatre, the framework of which had been included in their baggage. During San Francisco's early days the houses which the Chinese brought with them and erected in the city were "infinitely superior and more substantial than those erected by the Yankees,"[6] and were prominent among calico-draped tents and makeshift shacks of the gold-rushers. Most of these structures were destroyed in the series of fires which swept the new city in its first few years of existence.

The new theatre was described by an early visitor to California as "a curious pagoda-looking edifice . . . painted, outside and in, in an extraordinary manner."[7] The auditorium proper boasted an inclined floor, with seats for about a thousand people, some cushioned and provided with backs. There were no box seats, such as California theatres usually supplied. The auditorium proper was decorated by ornamental paintings and twenty-two Chinese lanterns or transparencies. The stage was raised and fronted by an orchestra pit large enough to hold forty musicians.

The stage *décor* of the new theatre received most of the attention of Occidental previewers. It was devoid of "wings" or "flats," but its walls were elaborately ornamented with "figures of men, hills, domestic animals, and all sorts of sea monsters" carved and painted in gilt and colors. Completing the setting were embroidered panels and shawls. This "singular establishment" was pronounced "a peculiar novelty, and well worth seeing."[8]

To the astonishment of Californians, the new theatre was opened by a morning performance on December 23, 1852. Heavy rains had transformed Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue) into a morass, but planks and stepping stones gave access to the new "temple of the drama" which stood at Dupont and Union Streets near that section, already showing a concentration of the Chinese colony, known locally as "Little China."[9] Performances were scheduled regularly thereafter for 11:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M. every day, including Sundays, prices for admission being set at $1.00 and $2.00, depending on location and comfort of the seats.

At their portable theatre the Chinese troupe continued through the wet winter until March 24, when they closed their season and announced an auction of the theatre building. On March 25 the exotic structure was sold to David Jobson for the nominal sum of $1,150.[10] Under the management of George W. Beach, the company set sail on the *Cortes,* on April 1, bound for Panama and finally New York, where Mr. Beach planned to show them at the Crystal Palace Exhibition.[11]

II

These first feeble roots flung down in American soil by the Chinese drama were not to wither. The Chinese population was increasing rapidly, despite an inhospitable resentment on the part of white immigrants, and the Chinese drama appeared in gradually strengthening, though spasmodic, vigor.

Feeling against Chinese immigration ebbed and flowed through the middle fifties; statutes were enacted and repealed and discussed freely in an effort to curb the influx of the saffron claimants to wealth and opportunity which many whites felt should be restricted to their own tender uses. Sentiment in the mines occasionally reached unpleasant heights, and rivalry between sections and tongs of Chinese made amusing reading in the newspapers.

In Trinity County a series of internecine battles edified the pioneers. In 1854 the Canton Chinese challenged the Hongkong contingent to a mass duel on an appointed date, and blacksmiths in the region co-operated by manufacturing to Chinese specifications murderous battle-axes and spears. In 1856 a similar encounter in Chinese Camp between the Sam-Yaps and the Yan-Wos resulted in several deaths and many injuries.[1]

The introduction of firearms by westernized Chinese miners brought down upon them a certain amount of official indignation not aroused by battle-scythes and hatchets, martial gongs and armored magnificence of costume. Several comic-opera encounters took place without benefit of sheriff's posse, however, the white brethren often urging the combatants forward with the same cruel zest displayed at early bull-and-bear fights.

In the cities the disorganized tongs, or unions, came to blows occasionally, despite the pacific efforts of the five companies' officials, who in 1856 enumerated their affiliates as follows:

Yeung-Wo	14,000 members
Sam-Yap	6,800 members
Yan-Wo	1,780 members
Sze-Yap	9,200 members
Ning-Yang	6,907 members[2]

Other affiliations between Chinese organizations led to street fighting in San Francisco and charges of extortion of money by tong officials from independent Chinese residents. The American courts attempted to interfere on several occasions, but the solidarity of the Chinese in conflict with officialdom led to stalemate and continued demands that the courts investigate Chinese Secret Orders.[3]

Meanwhile, Chinese drama burst into occasional flower. In September 1853, an itinerant Chinese puppet show was set up on a table in the San Francisco Plaza, and a curious crowd of loafers and children watched the little figures, "very intelligible and cleverly managed," through a little play in the course of which a dragon swallowed a beautiful maiden, to the accompaniment of Chinese music.[4]

The former Chinese theatre building was devoted to less aesthetic purposes, was indeed finally converted into a receiving station for Chinese immigrants, who continued to arrive by hundreds despite the lack of hospitality on the part of the Californian population. Several residents of neighboring houses complained that the nude bathing *en masse* in the courtyard of the former theatre worked a definite hardship on the respectable neighborhood, "rendering it impossible for the female portion of the families adjacent thereto to have ingress to or egress from their houses, or to remain at their windows."[5]

In Sacramento, in the winter of 1855, a puppet theatre was opened in the rear of a gambling establishment on I Street, near Fifth. During the New Year's festivities Americans wandered into the small theatre, which seated one hundred and was called the Canton Chinese Theatre, to watch the antics of the performers, "busts stuck upon sticks, and clothed . . . between three and four feet in length," and to listen to the vigorous accompaniment of a Chinese orchestra behind a calico screen.[6] The unexpected popularity of the productions resulted in their continuance, the puppets being supplanted in time by a Chinese theatrical troupe.

On May 8, 1855, one Leong Ahghue,[7] manager and interpreter, offered a Chinese performance at the Sacramento Theatre, two historical plays making up the bill. A large audience witnessed the single showing which, in the words of a local reporter, "literally beggars description." To this novice the acrobatic, comic, magic, terpsichorean, and tragic aspects of the acting were inexplicably combined in the strange drama. Again on May 23 the troupe appeared at the Sacramento Theatre, assuring the public by advertisement that "there shall be nothing of a vulgar nature in the performance, so that all can witness with interest."

In the late fall of 1855 the Shanghai Theatre was opened in a two-story house in Dupont Street south of Washington, in San Francisco, under the management of Messrs. Chan Akin and Lee A-Kroon. An American reporter wandered into the theatre on December 12, on the occasion of a benefit performance for the star, Mr. Leang Shang or Chang, of the Grand Musical Opera of Kwantung (or Canton). The feature of the evening was a musical drama entitled "Hi-ye-kwing-toe; or, Hi-ye the Usurper," in which Mr. Leang was supported by a Mr. Kiov-yong who acted the part of his daughter. A somewhat sarcastic comment on Mr. Leang's performance was published in the *Daily California Chronicle* of December 13, 1855:

> This famous historical opera gave an excellent opportunity to the beneficiary to display his numerous talents. His lofty stature, his broad shoulders, his manly stride, his expressive countenance, painted up regardless of expense, his long whiskers, his keen falsetto voice, and his violent gesticulation, presented a total of attractions, so varied that every one was certain of finding something to his taste.

Other contemporary critics were frank in ridicule of the "celestial drama." The unlocalized setting of the Chinese stage drew frequent fire:

> The stage is a carpeted platform a few feet high, at the back of which there is a door on either side fronting the audience and leading into the green room. A few chairs and tables, and a bench between the doors for the orchestra, complete the furniture of a Chinese theatre. There are no "scenes" and no drop curtain.[8]

Chinese music of untempered scale, executed upon unfamiliar instruments or by voices trained to a nasal falsetto, was peculiarly unpleasant to Occidental ears. Said one reporter, describing the orchestral accompaniment of a Chinese drama,

> Several ordinarily apparalled "Johns" . . . were twanging away on some instruments, whence issued a series of discordant sounds, compared to which the mingled midnight music of forty cats, and half a dozen hand-organs and hurdy-gurdies, would have been delicious.[9]

Another writer at about the same period referred to "a horrible medley of sounds from gongs, rattling bones, banjos, fiddles, drums and screaming voices"[10] while the authors of the famous early work, *The Annals of San Francisco,* published in 1855, commented at some length:

> . . . there is an orchestra of five or six native musicians, who produce such extraordinary sounds from their curiously shaped instruments as severely torture the white man to listen to. Occasionally a songster adds his howl or shriek to the excruciating harmony. The wailings of a thousand love-lorn cats, the screams, gobblings, brayings, and barkings of as many peacocks, turkeys, donkeys, and dogs,—the "ear-piercing" noises of hundreds of botching cork-cutters, knife-grinders, file-makers, and the like,—would not make a more discordant and agonizing concert than these Chinese musical performers . . . Heaven has ordered it, no doubt, for wise purposes, that the windy chaos is pleasant to the auricular nerves of the natives. . . .[11]

It is perhaps not surprising that San Francisco reporters were often ribald about this strange art so unexpectedly transferred to their alien land. What was a reporter to think when he stepped from a ponderously eloquent and naturalistic "Richelieu," or a sentimental "Uncle Tom's Cabin" with imitation blocks of ice, to the carefully elaborate restraint of a tale of some Chinese emperor of centuries past, told by exquisite actors with the aid of a few chairs and a clanging orchestra? Mostly they tried to be amused, or devastating:

> In dress, everything is hideous and distorted, in action overdone, and throughout the whole establishment, in scenery, properties and fixtures, was that same show of

> rude and barbaric taste which marks the decorations about their temple in this city. Truly there is but little, either in John's amusements or religion, worthy of admiration. . . .[12]

For the Chinese, however, expatriated and unwelcomed in California, the Chinese drama furnished a link to their homeland, a salve perhaps for battered national pride. The long-drawn-out and often irreverent depictions of apocryphal or real events in the history of China were patronized quite consistently. It is said that during the Chinese New Year's celebration of February 1856 the Chinese population flocked to the Shanghai Theatre, where the audience enjoyed the time-honored prerogative of the Oriental, eating and drinking tea brewed on portable apparatus while witnessing the performance on the stage.[13]

Outlying settlements, too, were occasionally fortunate. In the fall of 1856 correspondents reported a Chinese troupe of about thirty actors, musicians, and attendants at San Andreas, where a canvas theatre was erected for their use. Instead of gas light, available only in San Francisco, the actors utilized large earthen vases of oil, suspended from iron brackets, to illuminate their stage.[14]

By December the Chinese troupe in San Francisco had moved into the Adelphi Theatre on Dupont Street, former home of French players. A new wardrobe was imported from China, "made of a profusion of satin, silk and painted cotton stuffs . . . covered with tinsel, outlandish ornaments and barbaric display." A full description of the performance was printed in the *Bulletin* of December 6, 1856,[15] attention being called to the property men, who walked about the stage among the richly dressed actors, to "hand a cup of tea to this one and a sword to that one as the directions of the play require." The drama on this occasion was entitled, "The Return of Sit Ping Quai."[16]

The troupe at the Adelphi, augmented to fifty players, in the spring went on a tour in the interior of the state. During their three-weeks' stay in Sacramento members of the California legislature condescended to attend performances, in dearth of other entertainment in the city.[17]

In the spring of 1858 the Chinese troupe leased a building in San Francisco almost opposite to the Adelphi where they had appeared for many months.[18] Here they appeared nightly, their performances enhanced by a new lot of profusely colorful costumes imported from China. Their stage arrangements suffered a certain adjustment: instead of sitting at the back of the stage, between the two stage doors, the orchestra was now placed at the side of the stage; but the other conventions of the Chinese theatre were maintained in the form in which they had first astonished the city years before. San Franciscans were now well informed that female roles were undertaken by men; that the songs were often in the "court" language of China; and in the peculiar uses of the two doors in the back stage wall. It was even noted that two main divisions of Chinese plays were evident to the constant observer: "military" plays which involve swift action, vigorous dancing, and loud accompaniment, and moral or "civil" plays which deal with the quieter aspects of existence and point clear morals for the instruction of the beholder.[19]

* * *

With the sixties, the Chinese theatre enjoyed a period of fairly firm establishment and prosperity.

The city of San Francisco achieved in the sixties a glisten of wealth and a glitter of elegance unknown to the more celebrated fifties. The red-shirted ruffian with a pick in one hand, a sack of nuggets in the other, had given way to the top-hatted dandy who postured in plush-and-gilt drawing rooms and drove his carriage dashingly out to the Cliff House on bright afternoons. The Civil War brought money to San Francisco's coffers and death to but few of her soldiers; the Comstock Lode and neighboring stores of silver poured a continuous stream of precious metal from the new mining frontier in Virginia City.

Anti-Chinese feeling was not so prevalent during this gay, expansive decade. The new land was too busy to concentrate its venom on the diligent little men from China who helped do its work and were building a strange little city within the great metropolis into which San Francisco was fast developing. "Little China" was growing into that "Chinatown" which has for years fascinated visitors to California. Not the smallest of its attractions was, and is today, the Chinese theatre.

Encouraged by the success of their predecessors, new troupes of Chinese actors were coming to America. In the early weeks of 1860 such a company leased the Union Theatre, deserted now by Caucasian players. For some nights, opening on March 1, these Chinese actors offered their wares—short scenes from traditional plays, for the most part. The stock theatre equipment of wings, drops, and painted curtains was ignored in favor of the two traditional exit and entrance doors; sparse furnishing of four chairs and two tables was augmented only by introduced screens and a pair of curtains. An orchestra of seven performers accompanied the production, which ranged from simple comedy to magnificent military pantomime-dance, in the usual idiom. One reporter was struck by a tragic scene he witnessed, in which the face of an old man was "piously" covered with a handkerchief in token of death; the gentleman thereafter walking calmly from the stage.[20]

The troupe which performed at the Union Theatre in March seems to have been more or less second-rate, as Chinese companies go. The audience was almost exclusively Chinese, women segregated in the dress circle while the somberly-clad males made themselves at home in the once-fashionable parquette. There was, of course, no applause but that of spontaneous chuckles in lighter moments. While the players dramatized, gestured, and sang their falsetto notes, the audience discharged clouds of smoke from cheap cigars, nibbled at melon seeds and candies, engaged in unrestrained conversation, and a few unselfconscious souls removed their shoes for greater comfort. The flaring gas footlights served admirably for lighting cheroots, as well as for illumination of the shabbily gaudy embroideries and feathers in which the actors were bedecked.[21]

Two months later a more imposing theatrical group arrived in San Francisco, forty-eight days out of Hongkong on the *Flying Mist.* Five stars of the Chinese theatre were welcomed by their countrymen: they were called Ah Wing, Ah Kung, Ah Chun, Ah Ping, and Ah Wye. Tom Maguire, shrewd, big-hearted Irish proprietor of Maguire's Opera House, engaged the Chinese stars to appear at his theatre for three nights, opening on May 15. Supporting the new leading actors were some twenty-four of the already established Chinese troupe. The advertisements and newspaper publicity made much of the fictitious fame of the company, and claimed grandly that it had appeared repeatedly before the Emperor of China, was indeed *en route* to perform before Emperor Louis Napoleon in Paris.[22]

It was particularly stated by the Opera House management, in the preliminary notices, that all objectionable features, "occasionally introduced into the performances of the old company of 1852," would absolutely be deleted from the new productions. It would be interesting to have some record of the conversations between the Chinese players and the Opera House impresario, presided over by an earnest interpreter named Carvalho. What a meeting of the East and the West! How the Orientals must have been puzzled by directions to omit such important scenes as, perhaps, the birth of a child—neatly handled by sudden production of a doll after symbolical preliminaries. How horrified they would have been to engage in the current and, doubtless to their minds, indecent custom of Occidental actors, who kissed unashamedly before all the world—a procedure carefully masked in Chinese performances by very chaste and highly symbolical pantomime in no way involving Chinese lips!

The plots of the plays offered at the Opera House were carefully translated in the hand-bill programs. Dramas included were: "The Rebellion of Loo Fei, or the Chinese Joan of Arc"; "Chow Choo, or the Vice Roy of Keang"; "Love and Revenge, or the Heroine of Cheang."

On the opening night the theatre was crammed with eager San Franciscans who occupied all available standing room; indeed, at least a hundred were turned away. The audience, "truly fashionable and intellectual," had come to have a Roman holiday at the expense of the Chinese players. "The house was in a roar of laughter from first to last," and not least amusing was the appearance, at the close of the evening, of the Chinese stage manager, who reportedly addressed the assemblage as follows:

"How de do! how de do! Melican man no understand China play; me play part now, part to-mollow night, part next night. Play now done."

One condescending reporter commented on the newly adopted habit of the Chinese actors of acknowledging interpolated applause of the American audience by a profound circus-arena bow. He summed up the production by the remark that, "old or new actors–humbug or no–the performance altogether is very curious to American eyes and ears."[23]

In August of this same year, another influx of Chinese star performers was noted; arriving forty-six days from Hongkong in the ship *Moonlight*, five men joined the "Chinese Theatrical Performers of the State of California": King Ho, Wing Souey, Ah Lum, Ah Foey, and Ah Chow. Opening August 10 at the Lyceum Theatre, for five nights the ex-Union Theatre company offered successive episodes of "Sam Kwok, or the Hundred Years' War," starring Mr. Wong Fong as the female lead. Ah Chow was celebrated as one of the best vaulters in China, and was featured in gymnastic exhibition.[24]

These widely advertised Chinese appearances seem to have exhausted, at least temporarily, the revived interest of San Franciscans in the Oriental drama. Governor Stanford, who graced the state office during the first years of the sixties, was a staunch opponent of Chinese immigration and labor, though he was to become one of the leading supporters of the transcontinental railroad, constructed largely by Chinese workers in the West. Under his regime there was an occasional brief resurgence of antagonism to the Chinese; but times were unsettled, and with the war in the east attention was focussed primarily on the larger problem of national survival.

The sixties brought, too, a new development in Chinese relations with their white hosts. Tourists began to evince a curiosity about the scenes and lives of Chinatown. An occasional visitor found his way into the theatres of the Chinese quarter, paving the way for the later avidity of railway tourists.

William Henry Brewer, member of a geological survey expedition to California, in 1862 wrote home to describe the mysteries of the Chinese New Year's celebration.[25] A year later he ventured to visit a Chinese theatre,[26] which he described very sketchily, finding the performance so singular as to defeat his attempts to detail it, the music "awful," the theatre permeated with what he judged to be the "odor of burning opium," and the acting "most comical." When Artemus Ward visited San Francisco to lecture in 1863, he, too, visited the Chinese theatre, with more amazement than pleasure. They were perhaps the first of the long line of distinguished sightseers who honored the Chinese drama, at least by their attendance, in the years that followed. To the list of celebrated visitors may be added the names of Edwin Booth, Sarah Bernhardt, Pierre Loti, Robert Louis Stevenson, and, of course, Mark Twain and Bret Harte.

In the early sixties, however, Chinese theatres were still in a state of transcience. The Chinese were scattered over the state, and the potential audiences for San Francisco performers were limited. There were estimated to be fifty thousand Chinese in California in 1862, of whom only 3,600 lived in San Francisco.[27] The rest were engaged in mining (30,000, it was claimed, followed this trade), in farming, and other occupations often neither remunerative nor urban in character. The annual New Year's celebration was often marked by gatherings of Chinese in the cities, and at these times theatres sprang up to add to the gaiety of the extended season. The Chinese, reckoning their calendar according to their own lunar system,[28] produced amazing supplies of firecrackers for several noisy festival days, which sometimes fell in January, again in February, and even, at times, in March of the solar year. Always there were actors eager to amuse and impoverish their fellows during these holidays.

During the middle sixties there were two Chinese theatres in more or less permanent operation in San Francisco: one located on Dupont Street, the other a few blocks away on Jackson.[29] Occasionally a Chinese company still found its way briefly into an Occidental playhouse. Thus, in March 1865, a group of actors, jugglers, and acrobats was billed at the "New Idea" Theatre—the old Union in new disguise—where they appeared for a week or two.[30] In June of 1865, a theatre was fitted up on the first floor of the Globe Hotel at Dupont and Jackson Streets.[31]

The fall of 1867 marked the beginning of a first period of recognized prosperity for the Chinese drama. After a newly imported troupe took over the old Union Theatre,[32] some interested reporter dug up, along with information about the major San Franciscan houses, some figures on receipts of "the Chinese Theatre." According to his tantalizingly vague report, the Chinese drama grossed $5,365 in September, $9,102 in October, $6,199 in November, and $4,026 in December.[33] We may interpret this at will, bearing in mind that there were at this time players at the Globe Hotel, and two other theatres listed in the city directory, in addition to the new Union Theatre company, to which the statistics probably apply.

More definite was the announcement, in November, that a new theatre was to be built for the successful Union Theatre players. One John Apel, owner of a lot on the north side of Jackson Street, between Dupont and Kearny, had been persuaded by Chinese financiers to erect a two-story brick building at a cost of $40,000 for the specific use of the Union Theatre company.[34]

III

The new Jackson Street theatre was dedicated in January 1868, with ceremonies peculiarly Chinese in character. Incense was burned, smoke was blown against each of the four walls in turn, a cock was beheaded, and many firecrackers exploded to expel the unfavorable spirits who might be tempted to establish themselves within.[1] The theatre, to be known to Americans as the Royal Chinese, was christened "Hing Chuen Yuen" or "Prosperous Complete Origin," and was claimed to be the first theatre built in America by Chinese capital and especially for a Chinese company—a convenient lapse of memory, no doubt, in view of the 1852 experiment.

The building was located in the rear of the lot, evidencing lack of the pretension of American showhouses also in its simple structure, "like a country church."[2] The interior boasted a dress circle and galleries, and was lighted by gas.[3] An alcove was constructed at the back of the traditional Chinese platform-stage, for use of the orchestra. There was no act curtain, and the traditional twin stage doors were in evidence. The seating capacity was about eleven hundred.[4]

On the night of January 27, 1868, the opening of the new Chinese theatre was celebrated by a splendid banquet at the Hang Heong Low (restaurant). Invitations were issued by the trustees of the organization to "attachés of each of the different papers of San Francisco, the entire bench, prominent members of the bar, the army, navy, Legislature, Board of Supervisors, foreign consuls, merchants and others."[5] Only the "Divinity" was conspicuous by absence.[6]

"No pains or expense were spared by the Trustees to make the dinner a perfect success." The generous hosts, the Messrs. Lee Kan, Yee Teen, Ah Young, Lee Took, Yee Chi, and Thong,[7] supplied a Chinese interpreter and apologist at each table; and from 4:30 on the appointed afternoon, through four hours and thirty-two courses of Chinese delicacies totaling possibly 140 dishes in all, the assemblage gorged, and the English offered gracious toasts and speeches, and the master of ceremonies and interpreter, Charles Carvalho, returned thanks in the Celestial fashion for the enthusiastic patronage of the white dignitaries. Knives and forks lay side by side with ivory chopsticks; champagne companioned Chinese liquors.

At nine o'clock that bright evening, the guests, over a hundred in number, repaired to the already crowded theatre to witness a historic drama. Announcement was made that a special agent was being dispatched to China to secure additional actors of first quality and renown.

The opening of the new theatre was not entirely happy in effect, however. A number of actors from the Globe Theatre established a sort of picket line which was dispersed by the police.[8] It seemed that the new theatre had engaged certain players from the rival house, to the disgruntled dismay of their fellows.[9] Another disturbing element, headed by members of the Tong Wing Company of Washermen, objected to the reservation of one section of the dress circle for exclusive use of women. They claimed that the manager of the new house was evidencing too much sympathy for and interest in Chinese prostitutes, and attempted to invade the reserved section by storm. The San Francisco police again interfered.[10] In June there was another battle, one Ah Him assaulting Ah Pek with an iron bar, but the forces of law restored order.[11]

It is not to be inferred that the establishment of the Hing Chuen Yuen discouraged rivalry in the field of Chinese drama in America. In March 1868, a theatrical troupe arrived by the *China*, announcing that they would take over the old Union Theatre until arrangements could be made for a new playhouse to be located in Jackson Street above Dupont; that is, between Dupont and Stockton.[12] A troupe of sixty-four actors toured the state that fall,[13] while the Yun Sing Ping Company of eighty players for a time took over the Union Theatre, rechristened the "New Idea."[14] A year later, during the convention of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows in San Francisco and coincidental with the visit of the Cincinnati Red Stocking baseball team, the Lung Quong Toy Dramatic Company, then recently of the "New Idea," moved to the Metropolitan Theatre for two evening performances and a matinee.[15] Some ninety-eight players offered a special program under the direction of Mr. Yee Teen (possibly the same gentleman who was trustee of the Hing Chuen Yuen at its opening). A great many strangers attended and found the entertainment amusing and "really meritorious in those exhibitions that are understood."[16]

No serious opposition destroyed the firm leadership of the Hing Chuen Yuen theatre, however. The Jackson Street playhouse, familiarly known for years as the "Royal Chinese Theatre," was to become the focus of tourist attention. In October of its first season the great concert singer, Madame Parepa-Rosa, adorned one of its private boxes where, said an impertinent reporter, she was doubtless as well entertained and understood the performance as thoroughly as did her own auditors when she sang an operatic aria in Italian.[17] In June 1869, a fine company of ninety Chinese performers drew American patronage in a new access of popularity, the great local eccentric "Emperor Norton" being honored with a special invitation to attend one of the colorful performances.[18] Following completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, many distinguished and curious visitors of royal, artistic, or tourist origin condescended to view the "celestial drama" at the favorite retreat in Jackson Street, which was celebrated in many an anecdote and memoir.

The opening of the Hing Chuen Yuen marked the first permanent establishment of the Chinese theatre in the United States. Here first the Chinese drama began to develop sturdy roots in American soil.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are apparently no Chinese records in any form which would serve to contribute historical data on Chinese theatres in San Francisco or elsewhere in America. In compiling this study it has therefore been necessary to rely primarily on newspapers printed in English, with all due regard for their erratic interest in and confessed ignorance of Chinese affairs. The fine newspaper collection of the Bancroft Library of the University of California has furnished the major field of research.

It is to be understood that not all newspapers available for each day of each year have been examined; that, lacking a knowledge of the Chinese language, it has been necessary to accept contemporary translations and transliterations of Chinese characters, except insofar as it has been possible to check them against each other or against more learned criticism. The offices of Mr. Steven Moy and Mr. Peter Chu and of Nadia Lavrova have been valuable in furthering an understanding of the Chinese theatre as an art form.

—L. F. R.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. This letter, dated at Canton, September 14, 1848, is contained in a clipping in a scrapbook, *California Newspaper Clippings, 1848-1849*, Vol. 1, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The name of the newspaper is not given, but it probably was printed in Boston.

2. San Francisco *Golden Era*, December 19, 1852. Estimates vary a great deal for these early years. Cf. alleged custom house figures in "The Chinese Question," San Francisco *Herald*, February 11, 1856.

Unless specifically stated to the contrary, all newspapers to which reference is made are San Francisco publications.

3. William Shaw, *Golden Dreams and Waking Realities; Being the Adventures of a Gold-Seeker in California and the Pacific Islands* (London, 1851), p. 42.

4. William Redmond Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California; with the Author's Experiences at the Mines* (London, 1850), II, 267.

5. Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Land of Gold: Reality Versus Fiction* (Baltimore, 1855), pp. 86-88; *Alta California*, April 20, 1853; *Steamer Herald*, May 31, 1851.

6. Sacramento *Daily Union*, April 12, 1855.

7. "Chinese in California," *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, December 1851, p. 394.

8. *Bulletin*, January 26, 1857.

9. Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills, or Recollections of a Burnt Journal* (New York, 1855), pp. 295-302.

10. *Alta California*, April 23, 1852.

11. *Alta California*, April 25, 1852; *Herald*, February 11, 1856.

12. *Herald*, March 2, 1855, quoting from *The Oriental*.

13. [Lai Chun-Chuen], *Remarks of the Chinese Merchants of San Francisco, upon Governor Bigler's Message, and Some Common Objections; with Some Explanations of the Character of the Chinese Companies, and the Laboring Class in California* (San Francisco, 1855).

14. *Ibid.*

15. For a history of this organization see William Hoy, *The Chinese Six Companies* (San Francisco: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association [Chinese Six Companies,

1942]). According to Mr. Hoy, the first five district groups were: the Kong Chow association, the Sam Yup, the Sze Yap (an outgrowth of the Kong Chow), the Yeong Wo, and the Hip Kat (later changed to Yan Wo), which strictly speaking was not a district association but a tribal group. The sixth (later the most powerful) was the Ning Yeung, a group which stemmed from the Sze Yap.

NOTES TO PART I

1. *Herald,* October 8, 1852.

2. *Golden Era,* January 23, 1853.

3. Also known variously as Hook Took Tong, Hong Took Tong, Hook Tong Hook, Tung Hook Tong, and Tung Hong Took, according to the whims of San Francisco newspapers. "Tong Hook Tong" has been adopted arbitrarily here.

4. *Alta California,* October 20, 1852.

5. *Herald,* October 17, 1852.

6. Ryan, *op. cit.,* II, 267.

7. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London, 1857), p. 76.

8. *Golden Era,* December 19, 1852; *Herald,* December 22, 1852.

9. The greatest concentration of the Chinese population was on Sacramento Street, where Oriental merchants made resolute attempts to improve streets and sidewalks in the heavy weather. *Herald,* January 17, 1853.

10. *Herald,* March 27, 1853.

11. The opening at the Crystal Palace was postponed until July 15. In the meantime the Tong Hook Tong Company, not too enthusiastically received, performed for six nights in May at Niblo's Gardens. Some of the Chinese jugglers sojourned for a time in a New York almshouse, then played for a few nights in New Jersey. Finally the Oriental players were returned to China by charitable Americans. *Herald,* March 27, November 27, 1853, January 11, 1854; *Alta California,* April 1, July 30, 1853; New York *Daily Times,* May 18, 23, 1853.

NOTES TO PART II

1. Information about these spectacular encounters may be obtained from John Carr, *Pioneer Days in California* (Eureka, California, 1891), pp. 266-73; Sacramento *Union,* February 1, 1856; *Alta California,* January 28, 1856; *Bulletin,* November 11, 1856; *Call,* November 5, 1871, etc.

2. *Weekly Chronicle,* December 20, 1856, p. 2.

3. See *Herald,* February 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 1855, for accounts of trouble between members of the Hung-Shun, E. Hing, and Geong-Wo associations.

4. *Alta California,* September 2, 1853.

5. *Alta California,* August 30, 1854; see also *Herald,* April 22, 1855.

6. Sacramento *Daily Union,* February 17, 1855.

7. The Cantonese custom of prefacing names by the syllable "Ah" resulted in a great deal of confusion in the Occidental press; e.g., "Ahghue," "Akin," and "A-Kroon." It is to be noted that the syllable "Ah" is used in conjunction with the *given* name in Cantonese. Thus Wong Sin would be called "Ah Sin" or Mr. Wong. See David D. Jones, *The Surnames of the Chinese in America* . . . (San Francisco: The Chinese Name Spelling Company, 1904), p. 6.

8. *Daily California Chronicle,* April 24, 1856. See also *Bulletin,* December 6, 1856.

9. *Alta California*, December 14, 1856.

10. *Bulletin*, March 16, 1858.

11. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco . . .* (New York, 1855), p. 382.

12. *Alta California*, October 8, 1856.

13. *Herald*, February 6, 1856; for further description of the troupe and theatre, see *California Chronicle*, April 24, 1856.

14. *Alta California*, October 8, 1856.

15. See also sarcastic description in the *Alta California*, December 14, 1856.

16. A resumé of the plot of this particular play is to be found also in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Essays and Miscellany* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 373-77.

17. *Alta California*, April 13, 1857. See also *Bulletin*, May 12, 1857.

18. The Adelphi was destroyed by fire in June 1858. *Bulletin*, June 2, 1858.

19. See synopsis of "The Duty of Filial Obedience," *Bulletin*, March 16, 1858.

20. *Bulletin*, March 1, 5, 1860.

21. The *Alta California*, May 12, 1860, refers to the "poor stuff" offered by "a few ragged Chinamen" at this Union Theatre engagement.

22. See *Alta California*, May 10, 1860; *Alta California*, May 14, 1860, advertisement; and "exposure" of the "humbug" in the *Bulletin*, May 17, 1860.

23. For newspaper reports of this Opera House season see *Alta California*, May 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17; *Bulletin*, May 15, 17; *Herald*, May 16, 1860.

24. *Alta California*, August 10, 11, 1860; also *Herald*, *Bulletin*. The Lyceum Theatre was destroyed by fire in November 1860; at the time it was occupied by Melodeon artists—Occidentals.

25. William Henry Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, edited by Francis P. Farquhar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 243.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 366-67.

27. *Bulletin*, January 26, 1865.

28. *Ibid;* also *Bulletin*, January 28, 1865.

29. Henry G. Langley, comp., *The San Francisco City Directory*, 1863 to 1868, locates these theatres thus: (1) "E s Dupont bet Clay and Wash"; (2) "N s Jackson bet Dupont and Stockton." As will be noted hereafter, the principal Chinese theatres during the late sixties moved about; perhaps Langley's information was not checked each year as carefully as it might have been.

30. *Call*, March 10, 14, 15, 25, 1865.

31. *Call*, June 25, 1865.

32. *Call*, September 28, 1867.

33. *Dramatic Chronicle*, January 25, 1868.

34. *Dramatic Chronicle*, November 23, 1867.

NOTES TO PART III

1. *Alta California*, January 24, 1868.

2. *Bulletin*, January 29, 1868.

3. *Alta California*, January 28, 1868.

4. *Dramatic Chronicle*, February 1, 1868.

5. *Alta California,* January 28, 1868.
6. *Bulletin,* January 29, 1868.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Bulletin,* January 30, 1868.
9. *Dramatic Chronicle,* February 1, 1868.
10. *Alta California,* January 31, 1868; *Dramatic Chronicle,* February 1 and 8, 1868.
11. *Dramatic Chronicle,* June 20, 1868.
12. *Call,* March 8, 1868.
13. *Call,* September 20, 1868, May 2, 1869.
14. *Alta California,* September 22, 1868.
15. *Alta California,* September 19, 1869; also September 23, 24, 25, 1869.
16. *Alta California,* September 24, 1869.
17. *Call,* October 7, 1868.
18. *Call,* June 25, 1869.

Early Days on the Mountain Division

Further Railroad Reminiscences of

CLARENCE M. WOOSTER

I NOW experienced my first winter at Summit—1879—at the age of twenty-one. Jerome A. Fillmore had been raised to general manager [of the Central Pacific Railroad], Robert H. Pratt was our new division superintendent, a quiet, slow moving man of sixty, deeply concerned with the responsibilities of his job, sometimes doubtful of decision, and lacking the quickness of conclusion and action that characterized Fillmore. Rolling stock was constantly growing in size and weight and power. Numbers were substituted for names for engines. Engine 206 was permanently assigned to the Summit plow and the fire train. She was twice the weight and the capacity of the "Bald Eagle." The first storm brought three feet of snow, dry, pithy, slippery stuff, incident to the altitude of 7,300 feet. This kept the plow active two days on its beat between Truckee and Emigrant Gap. After several bright days another storm brought four feet of snow, necessitating three ten-wheel engines on the plow. The snow being dry settled rapidly, and after a day's thaw and a night's freeze it would be about the consistency of ice. Among my duties was that of accompanying the plow, as well as the fire train, with the telegraph kit, prepared to open communication with the superintendent's office at any point where an accident should occur. And I also had a sort of yardmastership supervision, advisory but not dictatorial. Engineer Fitzgerald bossed the job as long as his direction met with no serious objection by the other engineers, in which event questions would be decided by the majority, and in the event of a tie the decision would be up to me. When four or more engines were attached to the plow, a conductor usually was put in charge. There was no time to debate questions. A short, sharp blast of the whistle of one engine meant a quick stop, whether the others liked it or not. They were all broad-gauged, practical men, accustomed to acting in emergencies with quickness of decision.

An uneventful winter passed during which the heaviest storm left but six feet of new snow. To be out several days and nights during the continuation of a storm was a condition to which we became accustomed.

Spring came. The pilots were replaced on the engines which were returned to duty on the line. Then came the most disagreeable feature of life in the snowsheds. The ten feet of compactly frozen snow lodged on the flat roof of a shed would begin to thaw with the increasing warmth of the approaching summer's sun. For two months it would rain huge drops of water inside the sheds throughout the day and freeze into great icicles during the night. In the mornings the roofs of the sheds presented the appearance of a stalactite cave. Air brakes were not in use; trains were handled by man power. Brakemen out on top of a train would constantly run from one car to another to tighten or release brakes, according to the increase or abatement of resistance created by the degree and frequency of the curves of the track. The cars were overlaid with ice, constantly swinging from one side to the other. The clearance required the brakeman to move in a bent-over position, and all the while he had to dodge icicles as big as a man. Several of those brave boys were sent to eternity by those icy stalactites. After the dripping of the sheds had ceased, the summer months were a delight, a prolonged picnic, excepting for the restrictions occasioned by the limited reach of the sound of the fire gong.

Winter came again and passed without happenings of extraordinary moment. All were accustomed to expect hard jolts during the stormy seasons; exciting and more or less dangerous positions became routine. I have never known of a more hardy, willing and capable group of men than that which composed the engineers, brakemen, and conductors of the mountain division in those pioneer days of railroading. The agents and operators were selected by the same yardstick. Weaklings would not stay long enough to grasp the inspiration found in putting over difficult tasks.

Lou Banvard, the night operator, jokingly, now and then would startle us all by striking a certain chord on his guitar which would ring the great gong. Throughout the winter months very little snow came to meet our readiness, hence the plow crew indulged in a long period of idleness, spending most of their time around a big stove, coloring meerschaum pipes. Ten inches of snow covered the ground in spots.

On March 30, at 8:00 P.M., the barometer suddenly dropped from the normal 23 to 22.90 and continued dropping till it reached 22.75 (22.90 indicated storm); it stood between 22.70 and 22.75 for thirty days. This fact was reported to the superintendent, together with our statement that the sky was as clear as a bell and windless. Then we heard a wire pass from Washington to General Manager Alban N. Towne, at San Francisco, to prepare for a big storm in the Sierra Nevada. We rushed out again. The stars seemed unusually bright. Sam Jacobs, the snowshoe lineman, from Canada, remarked that the sky was excruciatingly clear and looked dangerous. We laughed. Orders came to cut out an engine from each passing freight train, for plow service. At eleven the stars were perceptibly, uncomfortably, clear, and the air seemed compressed. Engineer Kelley, however, kicked and stormed about being cut out of a westbound train for snowplow duty on a "summer's night," when there was no snow on the track. A strange feeling crept over all of us. A volcano was about to break out; something very uncommon was sure to happen. At midnight a gust of wind struck the house with extraordinary force, shaking it so forcibly that we believed it to be an earthquake. Snow began to fly from a clear sky. But not for long was the sky clear. The sun did not appear again for thirty days. Wind and fine, dry snow battered and whipped about with extreme ferociousness, without cessation or abatement, every hour for thirty-one days. The snow drifted through the cracks and formed huge mounds on the track.

The plow started at 2:30 A.M. on March 31, piloting a freight train to Truckee. It then commandeered one of the train's engines and piloted a westbound freight to Emigrant Gap. This sort of thing kept up for a week, until we had eleven engines closely coupled to the plow. The snow fell at about an inch an hour. To turn the engines and the plow required three hours at Truckee and about four hours at Emigrant Gap. All the rest of the time the plow was traveling and had the right of track, leading passenger and freight trains from Truckee up to Summit and down to Emigrant Gap, then up to Summit and down to Truckee, throughout every day and every night for twenty-four days. The sheds became entirely submerged by snow, which turned into ice under the heat of steam exhaust from the engines. We traveled in a continuous tunnel, engulfed in pitchpine smoke of such density that a lantern in hand in the day time could scarcely be seen. Around horseshoe curves at Strong's Canyon and down Donner Creek into the Truckee yards there were no sheds. The snow was fine and dry, and drifted into the deep furrow of the plow, at times taxing the force of eleven engines to throw it over the great snow banks which the plow had piled up on either side. There was the place and this was the kind of storm that caused many of the Donner party to perish. Conductor Buckley was in charge of the plow, a thoroughly fitting and capable man for the job.

On the twenty-fourth day of the storm, Gale's Blue Cañon plow, which had successfully kept the track open between Emigrant Gap and Dutch Flat, met with a serious mishap. The weight of snow had caused the shed leading to the turn table from Gale's side to careen to the extent that his plow became wedged in an inextricable position. That blocked traffic west of Emigrant Gap. Now and for ten days the Summit plow was the only moving thing on the top of that mountain division. It kept on its lonely course, running east or west between Truckee and Emigrant Gap continuously except for the time consumed in turning, which was the only opportunity for cat naps the crew could find. This sturdy crew of twenty-five men maintained that gait uninterruptedly for thirty days, without casualty to man or machine and without occupying a bed. If one changed his shirt he was a "dude." There was no time nor disposition to shave. All had become accustomed to the grind and mentally were in a semi-dazed condition.

The principal service now in the sheds was the knocking down of huge icicles. On the thirtieth day of April, while rounding Strong's Cañon in the open, the first speck of blue sky was seen. A month's steady fall of snow had abated. At Summit the barometer was fast rising, and when we reached Emigrant Gap the sun blinded our eyes, forcing us to use goggles. A snowshoe messenger from Blue Cañon brought orders to clear the track to Dutch Flat regardless of all trains, and reported that we would find about six feet of wet snow. Wet snow clears the plow as sandy loam does the shares of a land plow. This May day was a delight. Snow was thrown forty feet on either side of the track. When the Summit plow reached Blue Cañon, the whole population was at the station to meet it, including my sister who was the schoolteacher there. The new inspiration suggested a libation. The crew climbed down and presented themselves in front of the long mirror in back of the bar. On the way, children were heard to remark, "Why Mamma, they are niggers." And we were all surprised to have that remark verified by the glass. A tougher looking aggregation of men never stood before that or any other glass, yet the glass stood the strain without a quiver. We had learned to recognize each other by the voice instead of by the eye in the smoky sheds.

On we went again, the snow scouring beautifully. We tossed a man on skis thirty feet from the track, backed, and found he was not injured. Passing the American River Cañon, the plow started a continuous avalanche which carried snow, rocks, and trees a mile down to the river. It was a magnificent spectacle, as if the whole earth were sliding away from us, and all heads were poked out on that side when the plow ran into a drift in Rock Cut and stalled. Backing out, we applied sand and struck the drift with the full force of the train of engines. This tossed the snow in big chunks high in the air, which bounced along for a short distance among the smokestacks and cabs of the engines to their obscurity. Signals were given by the man on the bow of the plow, by a cord connected with the whistle of the head engine. All heads were out to see how he came through the blast; but before long two short blasts from him indicated "Go." We rounded down and around the wide curve leading into Towle's station, with a grand vista of the Dutch Flat country in the distance, going to beat the band. Marion Lovey, who was the joker of the crew, used his whistle as drumsticks, "Too oot toot toot, too oot toot toot, too-oot-toot-to-to-toot-toot-toot-toot-toot." Chandler on the rear engine repeated, then Bony Lightner, and Mooney, and Kelley, and so on until every engine, even the one driven by sedate little Fitzgerald, had rung out the same "taps," each with a different toned whistle. I do not remember a more thrilling moment than that out under that clear sky, the plow throwing in front of it an inverted waterfall of snow in its purity and spreading a cloud of black smoke along the trail. Passing Towle's, the ejected snow broke through the doors and windows and filled the store. At Alta the passenger dining room was equipped with glass French doors. The plow filled the big dining room with snow despite the doors, which were not any more. The plow stopped at Dutch Flat, backed to Alta where there was a turn table, and there the crew was called upon to perform the hardest manual labor of the month, uncoupling and turning the engines and the plow, and recoupling the train. Then the plow piloted a long delayed passenger train to Truckee. Blockaded trains all along the line resumed motion and the plow crew were given thirty days' rest on full pay. At once they began to "sling the dog"–to bathe, shave, trim their hair, put on "biled" shirts and strut about. I measured thirty-one feet of snow at Summit Valley.

* * *

Back on the Summit job [in 1881?], the official special came along, conveying A. N. Towne, J. A. Fillmore, Scott R. Chappel, E. F. Gerald and Robert H. Pratt on a tour of inspection. Pratt, the division superintendent, spoke in a complimentary manner of my services, for which I thanked him and then asked the gentlemen to consider my application for a station in the valley, stating that I had been in the sheds longer than any predecessor. The answer was much like that of the dispenser of a political job. At Blue Cañon, Gerald suggested that I had earned a promotion. Fillmore answered that by saying, "Wooster is the right man in the right place. He is familiar with every curve and the location of every alarm box and is always on the job." Agent Henry grounded the wire west and repeated that statement to me. And thus my hopes were doomed disappointment.

The car of the Marquis of Landsdown was sidetracked at Summit. "My Lady" with several attendants, and George, the valet, became our guests. The Marquis was the commonest individual of the lot. He did not like the whisky that Cardwell dispensed at the bar, so George ordered a ten-gallon keg expressed from Booth & Co., Sacramento, and asked Cardwell to place the keg behind the bar and serve the Marquis' orders from that source, making the usual charge therefor. Hence the Marquis came into popularity instantly. Some phase of rheumatics troubled the Marquis, so he hobbled about assisted by ever present George. Outside the sheds he observed a flock of quail which were never molested by the inhabitants, but were joyfully fed by guests of the hotel. "By-zounds, George! Pheasants! Run and get the fowling piece." The Marquis ordered George to get the birds into the air, which he accomplished with some difficulty for the mountain quail lie low under cover like the grouse.

The Marquis skillfully bagged four, almost forgetting his rheumatic leg; sent the birds to "Me-lady," who told George to "take the dirty things away." The Marquis turned to me saying, "Wooster and me will enjoy the game for dinner". This we did with great relish, for there is no finer bird than the California mountain quail. That evening thirty shed carpenters were seated around the big stove in the lobby of the hotel, at one side of which stood the long bar. The Marquis would tell a story, at the ending of which all present would applaud and George would serve a round of ten-dollar liquor. The Englishman was telling of a fox chase in England, of the start, and the pack, and their course over hurdles which suddenly turned in a dangerous direction and led to a swamp obscured by a hedge, when he was interrupted by the opening of the door and entrance of the Truckee constable. "Is Mr. Lansdowne present?" he asked. The Marquis acknowledged his name, and the constable stated that he had a warrant for his arrest for killing four quail out of season and for which the fine was fifty dollars for each bird. The Marquis calmed the rising multitude with a wave of his hand and said, "A most delicious bird. I was unaware of violating the law. George, hand the gentleman forty pounds. And as I was saying, the fox and the dogs hopped over the hedge and into the swamp, and holler all we could, we were unable to prevent two gentlemen and a lady of our chase from landing in a bog of reeds and water four feet deep; but the dogs had the fox fast." The carpenters took time to applaud, then rushed after the constable, only to find that he had jumped on a hand car and was on his way to Truckee. The Marquis manifestly was more perturbed at the interruption of his story than at the sum paid the constable.

Summit was honored by many other prominent folk, from time to time. Thomas Magee, the San Francisco realty leader, would come in the winter season, accompanied by one or both of his sons, Thomas and William A., to enjoy frolics in the snow and go on long ski journeys on which Thomas Senior would joyfully, untiringly, lead them. And thus was an acquaintance initiated with noble men which has most pleasantly continued throughout the days following down the years of life.

George Davidson, of the United States Geodetic Survey, was a rather frequent summer visitor, and I would wake up the night operator to relieve me while I walked out over the granite with the Professor. John Muir would graciously walk in and gently tap the great brass gong to announce his arrival. This dear old scout would feed at our bachelor table, then urge his right to take his turn at washing the dishes, to which we objected. Professor [Edwin] Hergesheimer, of Washington, D. C., also spent a month with us, with his three jacks and two Mexican attendants, taking observations from Castle Peak and flashing conversations with friends on Mount Wilson and other lofty places.

Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura

John Work's California Expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company

Edited by Alice Bay Maloney

(Concluded)

Saturday 29 Fine weather. Did not raise camp. As we are here nearly surrounded by water, we are like to be devoured by Musquatoes.—Our horses have excellent feeding here, on the overflowed ground there is very fine clover. Three of the canoes arrived in the morning with 25 beaver and an otter, which is very well for the length of time they were able to attend to their traps, they were retarded two days that they could not stir with wind. The hunters killed 2 elk and 3 Antelopes.—In the evening the two Indians whom I sent after the women 3 days ago returned, with the two horses, which they found at our encampment of the 25th. The women on finding themselves pursued abandoned their horses and hid themselves in the woods and could not be found the Indians went on a considerable distance farther to our encampment of the 10th, but could not find them.

Sunday 30 Very warm sultry weather.—Scarcely a breath of wind, and we are like to be suffocated with heat and devoured in the morning and evening & during the night with Musquitoes.—The hunters killed 3 elk and one Antelope.—

July 1833 Mondy. 1 Weather as yesterday. The three canoes which arrived on Saturday went off, they are allowed to remain 8 days on their cruise and again return, to this place. The other five canoes are supposed to be still ahead, and that they have gone to another station, altho it was here they were directed to come.—1 Elk & 2 Antelopes killed.

Tuesday 2 Still insufferably hot weather.—The Musquitoes as bad as ever, they caused all hands to pass another sleepless night.—The hunters killed only 1 Antelope & 1 deer. About sunsetting yesterday evening the Indians stole five horses 2 J. S. Laroque, 2 J. Rocquebrin, and 1 One of the women, the thieves had concealed themselves among the long grass and watched till the horse keeper turned his back a little and made off with the horses. Some of the men saw them passing through the oaks with them but mistook them for elk or they might have been pursued and come up with, the horses were not missed until this morning.—This is the most daring theft that has been committed upon us yet in this quarter. We will be obliged to destroy a village or two of these scoundrels or there will be no resisting[?] among them. So many of the men being absent in the canoes prevents me from going after & punishing them immediately besides we are very scarce of ammunition. Three Indians visited the camp early in the morning but went off immediately on being enquired at about the theft, they were no doubt thieves who had been sculking about in the night but could not find a chance to steal.—

Wednesday 3 The weather still oppressively hot, and the Musquitoes as bad as ever, little sleep can be obtained for them in the night.—The hunters killed 5 Antelopes.—The people are rather short of food and no more can be got, the hunters are not able to kill the elk. there are a good many along the marshy borders of the lake but they seldom venture out on the hard ground & when any of them happen to be fired at they fly immediately in among the water & bulrushes where they cannot be pursued.—Some of the people of the five canoes which have been so long absent arrived, the hunts of the five only amounts to 36 beaver and 12 otters, which is very little for 12-14 days that they have been off. It appears that in hopes of making more of it they marched too much & spent their time to no purpose.—There are plenty of beaver in the bay but they are shy and difficult to take, besides the hunters complain that the water is too high and that they cannot find ground to set their traps, the rising and falling of the tide is also against them.—

Thursday 4 Hazy and excessively hot weather. No quietness with the Musquitoes. The people of the five canoes went off, to make a cruise of 9 days when they are ordered to meet the camp at a station ahead of us. The hunters killed only two deer. The waters have fallen greatly since we have been here.—

Friday 5 A little breeze of wind during the day which rendered the heat less oppressive than these days past. The Musquitoes are also not so troublesome. The hunters killed 1 elk, 1 deer & 2 antelopes. The large plain to the Southward of us is all on fire.

Saturday 6 A fine breeze of wind which rendered the weather cool and pleasant, and kept down the Musquitoes. Two of the three canoes which went off on Monday last returned, this has been an unsuccessful trip, they have brought only 8 beaver and 2 Otters, they complain that the water is too low.—yet they say that they cannot find ground to set the traps, but say as the others that there are plenty of beaver.—The hunters killed only 1 Antelope.

Sunday 7 Blowing fresh, cool pleasant weather.—The two canoes which arrived yesterday went off they are directed to make a trip of six days and meet me rendezvous ahead at the same time with the other canoes. —The hunters killed 1 elk & 1 Antelope. Larocque's canoe which remained behind arrived, they caught only 4 beaver. Like the others they say there are plenty of beaver but that they are shy and will not take the traps. A W.W. [Walla Walla] Indian who is with Guilbeau, was out hunting and met six Indians with four[?] of our horses which was stolen some time ago, he tho' alone attempted to take the horses from them when a scuffle ensued, in which he had his clothes torn to tatters, lost his gun and cap. The Ind. were not so bad as might be expected for they returned him his gun and cap and did not take his horse from him.

Monday 8 Weather as yesterday. It is lucky that the wind blows a little or we would not be able to resist the heat.—The hunters out and killed 1 elk and 2 deer.—Pierre and J. S. Larocque went off to seek their wives.—

Tuesday 9 Fine weather.—Raised camp & proceeded 18 Miles S.S.E. along the bay at a short distance from it and encamped on a small creek or bay near Mr. McLeod's encampment.[192]—Six Indians on horseback met us by the way and accompanied us to the encampment. One of them speaks Spanish, and made us understand that he was a Christian, and that he had been sent by the chief of his camp to see us.—He denied that any of his people had any hand in stealing our horses and said that it was bad Indians under another chief at the river behind us.—It is most likely that they are all of a piece.—

Wednesday 10 Fine weather, a little breeze of wind in the middle of the day.—We are dreadfully annoyed by mosquatoes in the morning's and evenings and during the night.—The hunters killed 1 elk and 2 Antelopes.—The animals here as at our last station keep among the bulrushes along the edge of the bay where it is very difficult to get at them.—Six Indians came to the camp & were very well received, while they were here some others continued to approach the one end of the band of horses unperceived by the keeper who was at the other end and had his boy up on a tree on the look out, and took off 5 along the edge of the bay through bulrushes & water where we had no idea that horses could pass.—1 of the horses belonged to J. Rocquebin, 1 to J. S. Larocque, 1 to T. Smith, 1 Bt. Dubruille, & 1 P. Lagasse. Some of the young men pursued them but they had gained a point of woods & could not be come up with, but they fell in with some more Indians, part of the thieves that had succeeded in their aim and some other Indians they were very daring and one of our Indians shot one of them through the head, They fled into a thicket & threw away their blankets and other things.—Notwithstanding our wish to pass through the country peacably, we will be obliged to go to war with these daring scoundrels.—

Thursday 11 Very warm sultry weather.—The hunters killed 6 elk.—In the evening two of the canoes, Boisvert, and Toupin, arrived with 15 beaver & 13 Otters for their cruise of 9 days.—Longtain arrived yesterday evening with 4 beaver and 6 otters.

Friday 12 Fine weather.—Two other of the Canoes arrived with 18 beaver & 9 Otters.—They give the same account of the bay as before That there are a good many beaver but that they are shy and difficult to take.—Only two elk were killed.—

Saturday 13 Weather as yesterday.—The canoes all started in the morning on a trip of 12 days. It was our purpose to raise camp and move farther down where we will be likely to find more animals than here, but we are delayed waiting for two canoes which have not yet arrived, though the time is up; but perhaps they have missed the way.—The two men who went off on the 8th to seek after their wives returned with them, they found them at one of the Mission farms where they had just arrived naked having been stripped by the Indians into whose hands they fell where we made our canoes.—A Little before noon 8 Indians on horse back & 9 or 10 afoot arrived headed by the Spanish talking Christian who visited us on tuesday last they received food & some tobacco to smoak, and were engaged trading different little articles among the people for meat and other things.—When their men were detected among the horses attempting to steal, they were brought to the camp, but attempted to escape the others at first told them to submit but afterwards bent their bows and seemed determined to aid them in their object, the thieves were instantly fired upon when they all fled two of them got off on horseback, the others left their horses & rushed into the pond among the bulrushes. two were killed and others wounded, but they concealed themselves among the rushes and could not be found. One of them had bent his bow to fire an arrow at me behind my back but one of the women attacked him with an axe and he fled with the others.—It was no doubt a made up plan that those who came to the camp would amuse the people, while the others would steal the horses. They took time to shoot a few arrows but luckily without effect tho some of them were very near.—Towards evening a party again approached the camp on the opposite side of the pond, Some of the young men went to meet them & fired a couple of shots, they barely waited to shoot a few arrows & then made off and hid themselves.—We have strengthened the guard and made every thing in readiness should they be inclined to assemble and attack us in the night.—

Sunday 14 Fine weather but very warm forepart of the day.—The Indians approached the camp in the night and in the morning watch a little before daylight, began their attack at my end of the camp, the people immediately assembled to the spot to meet them, and the horses were moved a little farther off to avoid being wounded with the arrows. The arrows were falling thick among us but it was so dark that the indians could not be seen where they were concealed among the long grass & bulrushes & among some trees beyond a part of the pond, we therefore in order to not uselessly expend our ammunition waited patiently for day light so that we might see to fire with effect, but before day light came they raised a war yell fired their arrows a little thicker than before, and then ceased and when it became light none of them were to be found, probably they expected to find us asleep and when they found that not to be the case they had not courage to rush into the camp or wait till day light when they were sure they would not all escape. One horse belonging to T. Smith is wounded in the neck which is the only injury sustained from their arrows.—Raised camp and proceeded 14 [4?] miles S.S.E. along the bay but at a considerable distance from it and encamped on the part of a bay that juts out into the plain among a few oak trees and an extensive plain before us.[193]—In the morning it was our intention to encamp at the canoe rendezvous a little on this side of our last station, to await the two canoers Laferte & Cornoyer, which have not yet arrived, but as we were under way they arrived with only 1 beaver and determined not to return to the bay as they were working for nothing. We then moved on to this place.—The hunters killed 2 elk & one Antelope.—

Monday 15 Fine cool overcast weather.—Did not raise camp.—Part of the men out hunting & killed 3 elk & 4 antelopes. They also looked out an encampment where we mean to go tomorrow where we will be nearer the animals and where perhaps some of the men may set a few traps for beaver. Great numbers of elk & antelopes were seen today.—

Tuesday 16 Very warm sultry weather forepart of the day afterwards a little breeze of wind sprang up which rendered the heat more supportable.—Raised camp and proceeded 12 miles S.S.E. along the bay or river and encamped on a sandy hillock surrounded by swamps along side of a channel or branch of the river.—The hunters out & killed 12 elk, 1 bear & 1 Antelope. The elk are mostly very lean for this season of the year, A great many were seen but mostly all does & it is the bucks that are fattest at this season.—The women busy drying the meat & dressing the skins.—

Wednesday 17 Weather as yesterday.—Did not raise camp, in order that the meat which was killed might be dried.—The hunters out but killed only 3 elk, 1 Antelope & 1 deer.—Great numbers of elk were seen every where round about here yesterday, yet scarcely one was to be seen today, they had all fled into the swamps among the bulrushes and branches.—The men were out endeavouring to set a few traps but could find no marks of beaver.—

Thursday 18 Fine weather.—Moved 5 miles farther up the channel and encamped on a lake near the big river[194] a little below where it receives [?] Smith's river,[195] in order to have better feeding for the horses—The hunters were out, some of them crossed Smith's river, & some of them crossed the big river but without success scarcely an elk to be seen they have all crossed this channel and gone among the swamps & woods.—3 deer killed.

Friday 19 Fine weather.—The hunters out & killed 4 elk and 1 Antelope.—

Saturday 20 Weather as before.—The hunters killed 1 elk & 4 deer.

Sunday 21 Still fair weather. A breeze of wind during the day which renders the heat more supportable, and heavy dews in the evenings, which prevents the moscaitoes from troubling us much.—The hunters out and killed 2 elk, 5 deer and 4 Antelopes.—There are some elk but they are very shy and difficult to approach, the moment they are pursued they fly into the swamps & thickets where it is very difficult to get at them. Scarcely any but females & young males are to be seen, and they are mostly all very lean, the large bucks which are fattest at this season conceal themselves so well that the hunters cant find them, perhaps they dont fall upon the plains where they frequent.

Monday 22 Fine weather.—Thick fog in the morning.—The hunters again out in every direction, but killed only 1 elk and 5 Antelopes.—They say the most of the elk have crossed the big river to the Southward.—

Tuesday 23 Fine weather,—Raised camp and returned to our station of the 15.[196]—Met two of the canoe men L. Kanota and L. Pichette, they left their canoes at the rendezvous above, on their way today they met 9 Indians who seemed inclined to attack them but desisted on their presenting their arms, to fire. The hunters killed only 1 elk.

Wednesday 24 Fine weather.—Continued our route to the canoe rendezvous near our station of the 14th.[197] Here we met all the canoes. The produce of the trip amounts to 45 beaver & 14 otters,—viz.—1 Canoe 7 beaver & 4 otters. 1—22 beaver & 4 otters. 1—2 beaver & 5 otters. 1—8 beaver and 1—6 beaver and 1 otter, which is very little for a trip of 12 days and does not average over a skin per canoe per day.—The men say that there are still a good many beaver in the bay but that they are very shy, will not go to the baits, and difficult to take.—Our hunt with the canoes altogether since the 11th June amounts to 249 beaver (211 Large & 38 Small) & 85 Otters (16 of them small ones).—Beaver are difficult to take at this season of the year every where. The fur of the beaver is but indifferent but much better than I expected to find it here at this season.—The canoes have so little success that we have determined to give up the hunt and return to the fort. The Indians are becoming troublesome and we are very short of ammunition, scarcely enough to defend ourselves let a[lone] to enable the people to live, this circumstance alone will not admit of our remaining longer. besides if the people be sent off again in the fall they will have little enough time to gain a wintering[?] ground before winter sets in.—There are marks about the place here of a party of Indians having been remaining some time since we passed, very probably liing in wait for the canoe men after the affair of the 13th. Two canoes which were left here were carried off. The hunters were out but without success.

Thursday 25 Fine weather. Continued our route through woods and across a large swamp 18 miles to our station of the 26th June.[198] The river has fallen so much that we were able to ford it.—Sent off a party of 12 men & 6 Indians to seek after our horses and if they find a favourable opportunity to punish the Indians who attacked us on the night of the 13th.—They found the village. The Indians immediately turned out in hostile array, one who came ahead of the rest made signs that the chief was among those who were killed on the 13th.—After the first fire from our people they fled into a dry channel of the river among branches where they could not be got at on horseback, nor could they be sufficiently approached to do much execution with the firearms, yet some were killed and several wounded, and the people took 18 horses but they are so miserably lean that they will be of very little service to us, but taking them will be punishment to the Indians.—The Indians said that our stolen horses were in another village between the two forks.—One of the men Bt. Gardipre was slightly wounded with an arrow in the neck and his horse badly wounded with one in the thigh. There might be about 80 to 90 Indians.—These wounds even when slight are often very dangerous as the arrows are frequently poisoned.

Friday 26 Raw, cold weather for the season.—Continued our journey to our station of the 25th June and encamped in a good situation on the opposite side of the river,[199] which is now so low that we forded it.—Sent off a party of 13 men and 7 Indians & boys to endeavour to recover our stolen horses, but as these Indians had offered no hostilities the men were directed to do them no injury if they gave up the horses peaceably.—But on approaching the village the people were met by the Indians who immediately raised a war yell & discharged their arrows at them, but they were soon driven into the village and thence into a low swampy part of a lake, overgrown with wood and bullrushes where they could not be approached on horseback without much danger.—The village consisting of near forty huts was burnt, some of the Indians killed and several wounded and 21 horses taken among them are 4 of those which were stolen from us. The men's ammunition was all expended or they might have got a few more horses which were concealed among the bushes and rushes where the Indians took refuge.—One of the men J. Rocquebrin was slightly wounded in the wrist with an arrow.—The men suppose that the Indians might amount to from 60 to 80 men.—The chief of this village is the Indian whom the Indian from the Mission recommended to us [illegible words] as being a good Indian and converted to Christianity.—Notwithstanding this it is no doubt the natives of this village and two others not far off that stole the most of our horses, Three[?] of the last five[?] which were stolen in June here. the visitation which this village has received may perhaps deter them from stealing again. On account of the scarcity of ammunition we must defer punishing the other two villages for the present.—The Indians shot a great number of arrows at our people, and seem to have been preparing for an attack.[200]

Saturday 27 Stormy cold weather.—Proceeded on our journey and after a long days going of over[?] 25 miles reached our station of the 11th June. no water & wood could be found to encamp sooner. The hunters were out but killed only 2 Antelopes & 1 deer no elk to be seen.—The river has fallen amazingly[?] since we were here.—

Sunday 28 Stormy raw cold weather.—Continued our journey and crossed the river at our station of the 10th June.[201] The hunters were out and killed 2 elk & 2 Antelopes.—There were a small party of Indians encamped here on our arrival but they made off immediately, probably the news of the punishment of the Indians below has reached them & they are afraid.—They informed some of the people that their horses are taken on ahead probably those which were stolen from us on the 11th June.—

Monday 29 Fine weather.—Continued our journey across the lake which we were able to pass and after 20 miles march reached our station of the 8th June.[202]—The hunters out and killed 7 elk.—The elk conceal themselves among the bullrushes and are very difficult to be got at.—

Tuesday 30 Fine weather.—We are very much annoyed with Muscatoes.—Did not raise camp in order that the people might dry the meat which was killed yesterday & that the hunters might kill some more, All hands were out but killed only 5 elk & 1 Antelope,—There are some elk but they are very shy and difficult to be got at when they hide themselves among the bullrushes, they only venture out early in the morning & late in the evening.—

Wednesday 31 Hazy very warm weather.—Did not move camp.—The hunters out but killed only 3 elk and 1 Antelope.—Two of our Indians who were out hunting went to the lowest[?] village on feather river and saw three of our stolen horses two of those which were stolen on the 12 June and one of those which were stolen on the 25th June they brought the lost one belonging to M. Lafont with them and said that the Indians pursued them with their arrows and shot their arrows through one of the Indians' trousers: but they are so given to vaunting that their story cant be relied upon.—It is not probable that it was these Indians who stole the horses from us, but stole them from the Indians below, as we learned that those below had been attacked by a war party some of them killed and several of their horses carried off.—Several of our people have been for some days unwell and some symptoms of the fever breaking out among them.—Indeed for a length of time back, the weather has been very unfavorable for health. The heat, except for a few days back excessive during the day and a heavy chilly dew in the night, so that our blankets would be completely wet in the morning as we slept in the open air.—Besides we had often very bad water, and had to drink large quantities of it with the heat.—

Augt. 1833 Thursdy 1 Very warm weather.—Raised camp and proceeded across the plain 18 miles N.N.W. to a small fork of feather river.[203]—This was a hard day both on men and horses, not a drop of water to be procured during the journey, and the heat excessive marching over the scorched plain, a great part of which has been recently overrun by fire which renders it still worse.—Some of the hunters were out but without success.—A party of 8 men visited the Indian village to seek the horses which were seen yesterday but the horses had been taken across the big river,—The Indians did not take an arrow in their hands, and informed the men at once where the horses had been taken and offered to prepare a raft for them to cross and go in pursuit of them, but the men declined doing so as they would probably not have been able to follow their tracks or come up with them.—A great many of the Indians are sick some of them with the fever.—

Friday 2 Very warm sultry weather.—Proceeded up the little fork 10 miles N.—I was induced to come this way though it is out of our direct road, in hopes the people might find some elk and secure[?] a little provisions for the journey to the fort.—The hunters were out but killed only one elk & one antelope.—A few were seen near feather river.—

Saturday 3 Still very warm weather.—Continued our route across the plain 15 miles NW. to the Middle fork of feather river.[204]—This was another hard day both on people and horses, We found a fountain midway where the dogs drank yet several of them remained behind & did not come up till late in the evening. Their feet in a short time became wounded with the scorching heat of the sand, the horses suffered much from the same cause.—The hunters were out and killed 4 elk and 1 Antelope.

Sunday 4 Hazy very warm weather.—Did not raise camp as some of the people had seen a number of elk along the river below, & to allow time to dry the meat which was killed yesterday.—Several of the men off in pursuit of the elk, they saw two bands of does & a few bucks but killed only one.—

Monday 5 Very warm weather.—Raised camp and proceeded to the traverse on the main fork of feather river.[205]—The hunters out but killed only 1 deer & 2 elk.—The country has been recently overrun by fire so that we can scarcely find feeding for our horses.—

Tuesday 6 Still very warm weather.—Continued our route to the bute & encamped at our station of the 15th Decr.[206]—The people out hunting but only 1 elk and 3 antelopes killed.—Some sickness prevails among the Indians on feather river, The villages which were so populous and swarming with inhabitants when we passed that way in Jany or Febry last seem now almost deserted & have a desolate appearance. The few wretched Indians who remain seem wretched they are lying apparently scarcely able to move, It is not starvation as they have considerable quantities of their winter stock of acorns still remaining. We are unable to learn the malady or its cause.[207] I have given the people orders to avoid approaching the villages lest it be infectious.–

Wednesday 7 Very warm weather.–Did not raise camp in order that the people might collect some provisions for their voyage as this is the last place which we can expect to find any.–The hunters were out and killed 7 elk and 1 Antelope.–There are some marks of elk but they conceal themselves among the rushes where it is difficult to find them.–

Thursday 8 Stormy afterpart of the day.–Did not raise camp.–The hunters out & killed 7 elk. Some of them who went down toward feather river observed great numbers of elk. A number of the people early in the morning.–
went off to go and sleep near the place so that they might be ready to hunt

Friday 9 Still very warm weather.–The hunters returned in the evening, they killed 13 elk. Some who went off this morning have not yet arrived.–Several of the people are unwell.–I have been ill these two days myself.

Saturday 10 Still very warm sultry weather.–The men who remained out last night returned they killed 4 elk, but they lost one of their horses who strayed in the night and they did not find him.–The sick people not getting better. Did not raise camp.

Sunday 11 Still excessive warm weather.–Did not raise camp,–Dubruille returned to seek his horse but did not find him.–Some of the men were hunting but killed only one elk.–The sick people are not recovering and some more are taken ill.–

Monday 12 The weather insufferably hot.–Raised camp and proceeded to the traverse of deception creek.[208]–This was a long & harassing days journey both on the animals & people, particularly the sick.–We started early & reached the encampment before the greatest heat yet several dogs gave up on the way with thirst.–As if the heat was not sufficient we are like to be devoured with swarms of Muscatoes. Several of the people have been off some days setting traps, 2 beaver taken–& 3 antelopes killed.–

Tuesday 13 The excessive heat continues.–Continued our route at an early hour and went to our station of the 7th Dec.[209]–The fatigue today on people horses & dogs nearly as bad as yesterday.–2 beaver taken and 1 elk killed. Some of the sick are a little better but four[?] others have fallen ill, it appears to be a kind of fever, the patients are attacked with pains in all their bones & a violent headache.—there are also two people ill with the ague.

Wednesday 14 The heat was as great as ever. a sort of haze in the atmosphere and not a breath of wind.—Proceeded on our journey & made another very long days march, indeed we could not find water to make it shorter except along side of an Indian village & the villages we by all means avoid on account of the sickness prevailing among them, The natives along here seem even more wretched than those on feather river, the villags seem almost wholly depopulated.—The unhappy wretches are found in ones or twos in little thickets of bushes, and the men found two one of whom was dead & the other nearly so The bodies of others were found partly devoured by the wolves.—Our sick people continue the same.—The hunters killed 2 elk.—1 beaver taken.—Here there is the materials for a fishing wear[weir] collected & prepared but probably the poor wretches were unable to construct it.—

Thursday 15 The weather continues the same excessively hot the sun glaring through the hazy atmosphere like a ball of fire.—Pursued our route to where we crossed the river in the winter.[210] The sick people are not recovering but others falling ill daily. There are near 30 less or more affected with the fever.—1 Beaver taken, 1 elk, 1 deer & 1 Antelope killed.—A few Indians were seen here they appear in better health than those below.

Friday 16 A little breeze of wind during the day which rendered the heat more supportable than these days past.—Continued our journey at an early hour and encamped at Bear river.[211]—Some of the sick a little better, but a few others have fallen ill. 1 beaver taken,—5 deer and 1 antelope killed.

Saturday 17 Overcast hazy weather. The heat not so oppressive as these days past.—Proceeded on our journey to Quesnell river.[212]—The sick continue much the same, there are near 42 ill.—3 beaver taken, & 1 deer killed.—

Sunday 18 Overcast cool weather.—Moved camp and proceeded 6 miles up the river where we encamped on account of Bt. Gadipre being very much hurt by a fall from his horse.—The number of our sick are increasing, today there are 51 ill. Several of them had shaking fits yesterday and today. the most of the others have the hot fits at regular intervals. —The hunters killed 4 elk.—A large herd was observed close to the encampment & a number of the people went in pursuit of them, but killed only one.—

Monday 19 Fine weather.—Continued our journey 10 miles up the river and encamped in a small point among the rocks, the road very stony and bad the most of the way.—Two more of the people taken ill with the fever, Several of them had shaking fits, some of them remained behind on the road and did not come up to the camp till the evening.—The hunters killed nothing.—A band of Indians came to the river opposite where we are encamped and were employed some time diving for shell fish, They dont appear to be sick like those below.—

Tuesday 20 Very warm weather.—Continued on our journey 8 miles to Sycamore river.[213]—A boy about 20 months old belonging to P. Bernie died this morning, it was always a very sickly weak child, it is not of the fever it died.—Our sick people get no better, nine more have fallen ill within these two days, making in all 61 that are ill, a good many of them attacked with trembling fits.—Not a family are clear except Pierre & J. S. Larocque.—several with only one individual not sick.—Our condition is really deplorable, so many of the people taken ill and no medicines, fortunately not many of the men are yet ill, but it is to be apprehended they will soon fall and that we will soon become so weak that we will not be able to raise camp, and I am afraid to stop lest we die like the Indians the most of the people completely disheartened, and indeed well they may.—I endeavour to keep up their spirits as well as I can but it is become now of little effect.—

Wednesday 21 Very warm weather.—Continued our journey to Canoe river,[214] the distance not long yet some of the sick did not come up until near sunset.—Some of them are getting a little better, and there is no new cases today.—2 Antelopes killed.

Thursday 22 Weather as yesterday.—Did not raise camp in order to allow the sick people a little repose, and to allow the horses a little time to feed.—Two more children taken ill with the fever, three[?] others are a little better but not recovered Several of them are taken with severe shaking fits.—Many of the men are so discouraged that some of them proposed remaining here & let the strongest proceed on to the fort.—I pointed out the folly of such a step, and the little chance those who remained would have of escaping, and that the distance to the fort would not take more than a month and that there we were sure of getting medicines and every necessary, and that the mountains were now near where we would experience a difference of climate which would most likely effect a change for the better. The hunters were out & killed only 2 Antelopes. When we passed here last fall deer were numerous now scarcely one is to be seen.

Friday 23 Overcast warm sultry weather.—Continued our journey up the river,—The sick very ill, three men, 2 women & a youth taken ill, only two women now in the camp clear of the fever. Our whole number of sick amounts to 65 but some of them getting a little better. The hunters out but without success.—

Saturday 24 Overcast heavy lowering weather, some rain in the morning.—The rain & appearance of bad weather in the morning deterred me from raising camp, being unwilling to expose the sick people to wet.—Some of those who have been longest ill are a little better, the greater number of the others are very bad and 7 more are taken ill during last night and today, making in all 72 ill. the men are now beginning to fall, our case is becoming more alarming every day. Indeed we are in a most deplorable condition and all my efforts can scarcely keep up the men's spirits. Our only chance of escape is to push on to the fort and a long road it is, at the rate we can possibly march, at least a month's march and some ill disposed Indians before us at two places.—but we must push on as it is our only means of safety.

Sunday 25 Very warm weather.—Moved 7 Miles up the little creek and encamped as it would have been too far to go on farther where we could find water. Short as the distance is it is long enough for our sick people a few of them are recovering a little but the most of the others are very ill and another is taken badly today.—And [sic] Old Caiause Indian called the Berdach who accompanied us, and was taken ill a considerable time ago died, he stopped on the way coming to the encampment, and some men were sent to bring him up, but he died shortly after they reached him, he is an aged man and lost all heart shortly after he was taken ill and refused any kind of sustenance, and could not resist. He anticipated dieing some days and had disposed of his property.[215] Bt. Gardipie killed a male elk, the meat of which was distributed among the sick to make a little broth for them.—

Monday 26 Still very warm weather.—Proceeded on our journey 8 miles farther on and encamped at a little creek with not much grass for the horses it would have been too long for the sick to have gone farther to a better place. The sick continue much the same, another man taken ill.—The hunters out but without success.—A horse was killed among a number of the sick people I encourage them to take as much nourishment as possible, in hopes that it will keep up their strength & enable them to support, the journey until we reach the fort.—The road for some days back has been very stony & gravelly and a great many of our horses are lame.—

Tuesday 27 The weather, a little cooler than these days past.—Continued our course about 6 miles to where we take the mountain. the road as usual rugged & in places stony, and but little grass for the horses.—1 deer was killed—Animals were plentiful here when we passed last fall, now there are very few to be seen.—The sick continue much the same some of them getting a little better one day and falling worse the next. I am endeavouring to inspire the people with confidence that a change of climate in the mountain will be of great advantage to them.—I have been for some days unwell myself with a violent head ache & pains in all my bones.

Wednesday 28 In the mountain we found an immense change of weather, all hands had to have recourse to their capots and blankets. The higher peaks of the mountains, are yet sprinkled with large patches of snow.—Had all hands out collecting the horses by daylight and a little past sunrising got under way and crossed the mountain by noon,[216] but it was near sunset before all the sick came up, they are taken with the hot and cold fits and must stop at all hours of the day.—The most of the sick continue the same, another child taken ill today.—Three horses were astray in the morning and could not be found and another got astray on the way and has not been found a deer was killed.

Thursday 29 Blowing fresh fine cool weather, cold in the night and morning. There is a complete change of climate here, the grass and herbage are mostly quite green yet.—Proceeded about 6 miles down a little fork, and encamped at the North end of a swampy plain.[217]—The sick continue much the same.—F. Champaigne returned to the mountain to seek his horse which remained behind yesterday but did not find him.—Some Indians visited us and brought a few beavers[berries?] to trade, they received a few trifles and were sent off immediately.—Where we are now the natives bear a bad character.—

Friday 30 Fine cooll weather.—Did not raise camp in order to allow the sick a little repose. four men, myself among the number are taken ill I have been unwell these last 8 or 10 days. a few of the others are a little better, all the rest remain much the same some of them very ill. The men returned to seek the horses which were lost the day before yesterday but could not find them.—This morning we found 5 horses shot with arrows. Quintale 1, Gilbeau 1, J Favel 1, G.R. Rocque 1—C Plant's Indn. 1—Quintals horse had 5 arrows in him, he was killed immediately The others are some of them badly wounded, but perhaps may not die.—This is the reward we meet for treating these barbarians[?] kindly and endeavouring to conciliate them, Nothing but severe treatment is of any avail with such savages. did they find an opportunity they would use the people as they did the horses We have now to begin watch in the night and I can just muster 12 men able to attend to that duty.—

Saturday 31 Overcast cloudy weather, a violent thunder storm & heavy rain in the afternoon.—Raised camp and proceeded to Pit river which we crossed immediately and encamped on its North side.[218]—The sick continue much the same another man C Rondeau taken ill.—The rain is much against them some of them got wet making shelters for themselves—A party of Indians came to the hill across the river opposite our camp and were examining how the horses were situated. The horsekeeper fired upon them and they made off with themselves.—

Sept. 1833 Sundy 1 Fine cool weather.—Raised camp and proceeded 8 miles N. to a little fork [of] clear water, Short as the days journey was it was long enough for the sick.—Several of whom got a little wet yesterday, and are worse than they were before.—I was attacked with a trembling fit in the morning and passed a miserable journey.—The Indians approached the opposite side of the river[219] and shot several arrows at the horses and the men on watch, during the first watch a few shots were fired and they retired, they wounded two horses, but not dangerously.—Where we are now encamped there were great numbers of Indians in the plain but they went off into the woods.—

Monday 2 Fine cool weather.—Continued our journey 13 miles W.N.W. and encamped in a small plain, we could not find a suitable place to encamp sooner, it was a severe day on the sick. The most of whom are much the same.—A horse was left on the way, and another fell into a deep part of the river and could not be got out, the two men who were with it had barely time to kill it and take a little of the meat before a band of savages who followed the camp came up with them.—

Sunday 3 Sharp frost in the morning. Fine weather during the day.—Continued our journey 6 or 7 miles—to another small plain.—The sick continue the same. two more have fallen ill. We will in a short time at this rate be all down.—

Wednesday 4 Weather the same.—Pursued our route to where Mr. McLeod's horses died.[220]—A long fatiguing days march on our sick people, who are getting no better. Some of them appear a little better one day and worse the next.—The hunters killed 5 large and 2 small elk, which was distributed among the sick people and is of great relief to them.—

Thursday 5 Frost in the night, fine weather afterwards.—Did not raise camp in order to allow the sick people a little repose. A chance one appears to get a little better but the most of them continue very ill. I tremble every day myself, and am become as weak as a child.—

Friday 6 The weather the same.—Continued our course to a small creek where there is some grass, near the foot of the mountain, about 7 miles.—Our sick continue the same.—some who had got a little better have relapsed and become worse.

Saturday 7 Stormy blustery weather.—Continued our journey and crossed the mountain to the Sheep rock.[221] This was a severe day on the sick, the road part of the way very bad, no water could be found sooner, & here there is barely enough for the people and none for the horses.—Some of the sick, a woman & a boy are not yet come up, & some did not arrive till after dark. C. Groslui was taken ill and barely escaped from a band of savages at the encampment which they approached after they saw most of the people off.—Four horses were lost at the encampment in the morning and 7 more on the road across the mountain. The greater part of the people are so ill that it is impossible for them to take care of the horses indeed they can scarcely take care of themselves. Our whole party is now become exceedingly helpless.–

Sunday 8 Stormy weather. Continued our route, 6 miles to a small creek[222] where there is plenty of water & grass for the horses which suffered much for want of water last night.–Our sick continue much the same. The boy & woman who remained behind came up in the morning.–

Monday 9 Thunder & some rain in the night. Stormy weather during the day.–Did not raise camp in order that some men might return and seek the horses which were left behind the day before yesterday.–Our sick continue the same.–We are now in a level country clear of the woods, and in hopes to get on tho' slowly, until we reach the fort but it will take us an immense time at the slow rate which we are able to go.–

Tuesday 10 Fine cool weather.–Did not raise camp waiting for the men who went to seek the horses yesterday they returned in the evening they found all the horses that were left but three, one of C. Groslui, and two very lean ones belonging to J. Cornoyer. The sick people remain the same some of them who had recovered a little have become worse.–

Wednesday 11 Fine warm weather.–Raised camp and proceed about 7 miles to a small fork.–The weather was warm part of the day & hard upon the sick people, who remain much the same,–I tremble regularly every night myself, and am becoming weaker daily.–

Thursday 12 Raw stormy weather part of the day.–Continued our route about 9 miles over a hill to a small swamp where there is scarcely sufficient water for the horses. It would have been too far for the sick to have gone on to Sorty[Sasty?] river.[223]–The sick still much the same,–C. Groslui has nearly recovered, but exerted himself too much with his horses and imprudently went in the water, he has therefore relapsed again and is worse than at first, during last night and to day he has bled profusely at the mouth and nose, it was near sunset before he was got brought up to the camp.–The Indians stole one of the Co[mpan]y's load horses in the night or morning.

Friday 13 Fine weather.–Continued our journey 8 miles to the Sorty[Sasty?] river which we crossed and descended a few miles to a small creek where we encamped.–The sick people much the same. C. Groslui is very weak–it was near sunset before he was got up to the camp.–Here we found M. Laframboise's track on his return to the fort.
it is some time since he passed, probably a month and a half or two months.–

Saturday 14 Some light rain in the night and a few light showers during the day.–Did not raise camp as C. Groslui is too weak to be moved it is doubtful he will die. The rest of the sick continue much the same as before.–

Sunday 15 Some rain in the night & a few light showers during the day very cold towards evening.—Raised camp and proceeded about 9 miles to the foot of the Mountain and encamped at a small creek with little more than enough of water for the people and scarcely any for their horses.—We passed a much better encampment, but did not know it at the time.—The sick continue much the same, Some of them who are badly clothed and ill provided with the means of sheltering themselves feel much inconvenienced from the cold weather.—

Monday 16 A good deal of rain in the night raw cold weather during the day.—Continued our journey across the Mountain 8 miles to a small fork of the River Coquin.[224]—The road was very rugged most of the way.—Our sick people remain much the same. Some Indians visited the camp in the evening they are some of the Sorty's[Sastys?] & bear a good character.—

Tuesday 17 Sharp frost in the morning stormy weather during the day.—We were deterred from raising camp on account of C. Groslui dieing just as the people were catching the horses.—This poor man has left a widow & 6 children to lament his loss & all ill with the fever except one child; he had nearly recovered himself, and imprudently exerted himself too much & exposed himself to the water, which occasioned a relapse when he became worse than at first, for some days he refused all sustenance, and had to be carried on a kind of litter on horseback. There was little expectation of his recovery but it was not supposed he would die so suddenly.—The rest of our sick people continue in much the same condition.—

Wednesday 18 Frost in the morning, fine weather during the day.—Continued our route 10 miles down the river.—The sick continue much the same.

Thursday 19 Raw cold weather,—Pursued our journey down the river 9 miles.—The country here has been lately overrun by fire, it is difficult to find good grass for our horses.—The sick continue much the same. Some of them get a little better for a day or two & relapse again as bad as before.—Four or five Indians visited the camp in the evening.—

Friday 20 Overcast raw cold weather.—Continued our route to near its junction with the big river.—Our sick people continue in much the same condition.—The Indians descended from the Mountain in the night and shot with their arrows several of our horses.—3 are missing & cant be found. 1 Bte. Dubruille, 1 P. Satakarass, & 1 J. Rocquebrin. 3 killed part of the meat of which was carried away, viz 1 P. Lagasse, 1 L. Kanota & 1 F. Champaigne, and two wounded, 1 P. LaGasse, 1 L. Pichette. Thus these savages without any provocation kill our horses & would doubtless treat ourselves in the same manner were it not [for] fear. There is no manner of dealing with such barbarians but to punish them whenever they can be caught.—Five Indians remained at our camp all night, they said that it was Indians from below that killed the horses.–

Saturday 21 Rained in the afternoon.–Proceeded on our journey and fell upon the main river,–Saw several Indians as we passed along, they appeared friendly. Our sick people continue the same. We saw the tracks of the American party going to the Southward by the road Michelle's people came.[225]

Sunday 22 Rained the most of the day. The bad weather deterred us from raising camp.–The Indians here bear a very bad character, during the first watch last night a party of them came to the other side of the river opposite to us and made a large fire and raised the war cry. I was in a paroxysm of the fever & could not stir out. Some of the people said that there were a great many of them & others that there were but few. Owing to our helpless state, there being only 15 men in health in the camp, I felt uneasy for some time. All the people who were able were ordered to arms the Indians in a short time went off and we saw or heard no more of them.

Monday 23 Fair weather.–Continued our route 8 miles down the river. Saw several Indians but none of them came near us.–The road was good today, but in places lay through points of woods, yet 2 horses were lost. There are so many of the people sick and become so weak, that they cannot take care of their horses.–The sick remain the same.

Tuesday 24 Fine weather.–Pursued our journey 9 Miles down the river.–The hunters were out in the hills but without success.

Wednesday 25 Fine weather.–Continued our journey, down the river to the traverse,–A few of the sick appear to be recovering a little these two days. The others continue very ill.

Thursday 26 Fine weather.–One of the men P. Bernie died during the first watch last night, he had been ill for a length of time so weak that he had to be tied on his horse, for some days back he had become so feeble, that there was little hopes of his recovery, but it was not expected that he would die so suddenly, yet, he had anticipated death himself and had arranged his little affairs. he had for some time little or no sustenance, so that his strength became exhausted, he has left a wife and 5 children, all ill with the fever. The people are getting more discouraged every day.–We were deterred from raising camp on account of one of the women A. Longtain's wife being so ill that she was not expected to live out the day.–The hunters were out but without success.–

Friday 27 Fine weather.–Proceeded on our journey, Crossed the river, which we have left and cut across a point, 10 miles & encamped on a small creek.–The sick continue very ill Several of them becoming weaker daily.–Two horses were lost at the traverse.–

Saturday 28 Overcast weather.–Continued our course to another Small fork 8 miles,[226]–The road good The sick getting no better.

Sunday 29 Rained the most of the day.—The bad weather deterred us from raising camp.—The sick continue the same.—Some Indians paid us a visit, they seem well disposed.—The hunters out, and killed 2 deer and a bear, the deer here are very lean.—

Monday 30 Raw cold weather rain in the evening. Proceeded on our journey, to another small creek 7 miles.—The hunters out but without success.—

Octob 1833. Tuesdy, 1 Some light rain during the day Did not raise camp on account of one of the women A. Longtain's wife being so ill that she was not expected to live over a few hours, bleeding at the nose and mouth that could scarcely be stopped.—The rest of the sick continue much the same.—hunters killed a bear & a deer.

Wednesday 2 Fine weather.—Resumed our journey, and ascended the little river to the foot of the Umquah Mountain.—Some of the sick appear a little better.—Very little water for our horses.

Thursday 3 Fine weather.—Crossed the umquah Mountain and encamped on a small plain with very little grass for our horses.—The road very rugged, several steep hills and deep ravines to cross & in many places much encumbered with underwood and fallen timber, This was a hard day both on horses and people particularly the sick, some of whom did not come up till sunsetting though the days journey was not long.—

Friday 4 Frost in the night, fine weather during the day.—Continued our route and after a long days march reached the South fork of the Umquah river, part of the road in the morning very rugged & much encumbered with underwood. Our sick people continue much the same. The hunters out and killed 1 deer.

Saturday 5 Cold, slight frost in the night, fine weather during the day.—Proceeded on our journey, Crossed the river in the morning & then across a number of steep rugged hills to a valley where we encamped on a small creek near its discharge into the river which we left in the morning.— The sick continue much the same.

Sunday 6 Fine weather.—Continued our route down the river and cut across a point and again fell upon the river where we encamped.—

Monday 7 Fine weather.—Pursued our journey across a point and encamped at a small creek.—Some of our sick people that were first taken ill are getting a little better, the others continue much the same. Some of them very weak.

Tuesday 8 Raw cold weather. Continued our journey across a point and fell upon the north or principal fork of the Umquah[227] which we crossed immediately and encamped on its North bank.—Some of the sick particularly the children who were first taken ill are recovering. Several of them and some of the grown people have had no shaking fits for some days, but they are occasionally visited with fits of the hot fever and continue very weak. The others continue very ill, some of them I fear will not live to reach the fort. I am rendered so weak that I am with difficulty able to make the days journey short as they mostly are, for some days I have had no shaking fits, but the hot fever visited me regularly. I am again attacked with trembling fits.–

Wednesday 9 Raw cold weather.–Continued our route 8 miles and encamped on a small fork, where there is good feeding for the horses.–The Indians stole 3 horses last night. A man & an Indian are off in pursuit of them.–Some of the sick particularly the children, are getting a good deal better. Several of the others continue very ill,–A boy of Jos. Rocquebin's, 16 months old died of the fever last night.

Thursday 10 Still disagreeable raw cold weather. Proceeded on our journey 12 Miles and encamped on a small creek,[228] where there is scarcely sufficient water for the horses.–The sick continue much the same. Some of them are getting a great deal better,–This was a long day's journey for them; but there was no water to encamp sooner.

Friday 11 Fine weather.–Continued our journey and after 9 miles march encamped at the foot of elk Mountain where the road ascends the Mountain.–[229]

Saturday 12 Fine weather.–Pursued our journey at an early hour and crossed Elk Mountain and encamped at a swampy plain where there is scarcely enough of water for the horses, The road was rugged, this was a fatiguing days journey on the weakest of the sick people.–Several of the sick are recovering fast, Some of the others continue very ill and it is to be apprehended will not get the better of it.–I am very feeble myself and still attacked every day with trembling fits and the hot fever.–

Sunday 13 Stormy some rain during the day. The unfavourable weather deterred us from raising camp.–M. Laframboise accompanied by four men and some Indians arrived from Ft. Vancouver on his way to the Umquah. He and his party arrived at Vancouver early in July.–He informs me that owing to false reports which have reached Mr. C. F. McLoughlin he is very anxious for the safety of our party, I have written a letter to apprise him of our situation and the cause of our delay. One of Michell's Indians is to start with it to Fort Vancouver early to morrow morning.–I have received a supply of 3 gall. coarse flour, 3 gall. Indn Corn, 1 lb. Tea & ½ loaf Sugar[?] 5 lb. [illegible word] which in my present exhausted enfeebled state is of the utmost importance to me as I have had nothing of the kind for some time back. I had an ample supply of all these things on leaving Ft. Vancouver, but our voyage has been long and so many people sick almost the whole time there were frequent demands upon me for a little to one and a little to another soon goes through a good deal.–

Monday 14 Raw cold weather, showery in the afternoon.–Raised camp and proceeded 8 miles over a hilly country and encamped at a small river.[230] Michelle and party also proceeded on their journey towards the Umquah.–

Tuesday 15 Showry weather.–Continued our route down the river 9 miles where we encamped. The hunters out but without success.

Wednesday 16 Fine weather.–Crossed the river and followed it ten miles when we put up for the night.–Some of our sick people continue very ill and are very weak, the others appear to be getting better, some of them recovering rapidly.–Several of them have had no shaking fits for some days past.–

Thursday 17 Heavy rain in the afternoon. Continued our journey 10 miles to South fork of River de Souris,[231] where we encamped.–Several of the people much wet before they got up to the encampment. A number of Indians visited us in the evening.–

Friday 18 Fair weather.–Continued our route to the North fork of River de Souris.–A number of the sick people continue to get better and are recovering rapidly. A few of the others are still very ill, and remain weak.–Late in the evening the Indian who returned on the morning of the 14th, with the letter for Mr. C. F. McLoughlin, arrived on his return from Vancouver, he brought a letter from Mr. C. F. McLoughlin, together with a supply of tea & Sugar & Some bread & butter, which is very acceptable to me in my present feeble state.–

Saturday 19 Cloudy lowering weather.–Continued our journey 15 Miles to Yamhill river which we had to descend for several miles before we found a place where we could get the horses watered, it was late in the afternoon before we encamped the traverse is close to us but we did not know it till after we had encamped. This was a severe day on the weakest of the sick people Some of them did not reach the encampment till after dark.

Sunday 20 Heavy rain all day.–The bad weather deterred us from raising camp.–

Monday 21 Rained the greater part of the day.–Did not raise camp, being unwilling to expose our sick people to the wet.–The most of the sick people are recovering fast.–

Tuesday 22 Stormy with excessive heavy rain all day.–The river is rising fast.–Did not raise camp, on account of the heavy rain our temporary shelters are scarcely habitable.–

Wednesday 23 Fair weather in the morning, but rain the most of the day afterwards,–The river has risen to such a height that we could not cross it but with canoes or rafts, and being informed that there are several other streams ahead where we will find ourselves in the same predicament, we determined to change our route, and accordingly proceeded down the river to near its discharge into the Willamut, and borrowed a canoe from one of the Settlers Peran, and had the horses crossed in the evening, but it was too late to cross the baggage.—This was a very unfavourable day for the sick as we were exposed to a good deal of heavy rain.—

Thursday 24 Fair weather. As it was very bad landing it was noon by the time the baggage was got all across the river, we nevertheless raised camp and proceeded on to Sand Encampment[232] where we arrived late in the evening.—I borrowed a canoe from one of the settlers Bt. McKay to take down the river with me to cross our baggage at the Faladin[233] river of the Chutes which is the only stream now on our way. The Willamut rose about 8 feet last night and the Yamhill river 4 feet.—

Friday 25 Rained the most of the day. The unfavourable weather deterred us from raising camp.—The sick people continue recovering rapidly. Only a few of them have had any shaking fits for several days.

Saturday 26 Fair weather—Raised camp, The people proceeded by land, and I embarked in the canoe which I borrowed from Bt. McKay with two Indians which were hired for the purpose, and descended the river but the Indians were such poor workers that the people had arrived at the river of the Chutes[234] a little before me.—The horses and some of the baggage were got across in the evening.

Sunday 27 Fine weather.—Had the remainder of the baggage crossed in the morning when we advanced to the Chutes where we encamped, The people were afterwards employed, drying and beating their furs.—

Monday 28 Fine weather.—Sent off all the healthy men with the horses to put them on the island at the entrance of the Willamut, and to bring up the boats which are waiting for us at the little Channel, to take on the people and the baggage to the fort. After much difficulty I hired a canoe from the Indians, & two indians and started myself for the fort, by water; the Indians became fatigued towards evening and I encamped a little above the island.—Shortly after leaving the camp I met a boat with four men coming to meet us. I directed the boat to go on and take in a load of baggage and people and return to the fort immediately.—

Tuesday 29 Fine weather.—Embarked at daylight and arrived at the fort by 9 oclock, where I was received with a hearty welcome.—The boat which I met yesterday & a canoe also arrived at the fort late in the evening with part of the people and baggage.

[No entry for Wednesday 30.]

Thursday 31 The other two boats arrived at the fort with the rest of the people and baggage.—The people who were sick are so far recovered, that but few of them require to go under the Doctors care but they were so much exhausted and continue still so debilitated that it will be some time before they be fit for any duty. Several times during our journey, the people were so weak that I was apprehensive the greater part of them would die on the way before reaching the fort, I attribute their recovery in a great measure to the change of climate in the Mountains, but as this had not an immediate effect they did not begin to get better until some time after we crossed the mountains.

NOTES

192. This camp site was in the vicinity of the present city hall of Stockton.

193. French Camp.

194. San Joaquin River.

195. Stanislaus River. Jedediah Smith encamped on this stream in 1827-28.

196. French Camp.

197. McLeod's Lake, Stockton.

198. Between upper French Camp Creek and Calaveras River.

199. Probably Mokelumne River.

200. The Indian villages attacked by Work's party on July 25 and 26 were typical of the Delta era in this period. Villages contained malcontent runaways from the missions who effectively created a militant anti-Caucasian attitude. It is of interest to note the number of horses recovered from each village.

201. Cosumnes River.

202. In the vicinity of what is now the city of Sacramento.

203. Bear River.

204. Yuba River.

205. The crossing was near Nicolaus.

206. In the valley of the Buttes.

207. Work here notes the depopulation of the lower Feather River Indian villages, caused by a pestilence which afflicted the natives throughout the whole interior valley. This pandemic is the subject of an extremely interesting paper by Dr. Edward W. Twitchell, "The California Pandemic of 1833," in *California and Western Medicine*, XXIII (May 1925), 592-93.

208. Butte Creek.

209. Possibly on Chico Creek.

210. This crossing is marked "French Crossing" on a map drawn by P. B. Reading and dated 1849. (Original MS map in California State Library, Sacramento.)

211. Pine Creek.

212. Deer Creek.

213. Battle Creek.

214. Cow Creek.

215. It is possible to fix this spot with some degree of accuracy. Forest Ranger Reuben P. Box, of the Hat Creek Station, relates that some years ago when widening a trail in this place he found a single Indian grave which contained, among other articles, pieces of red woolen material—the red strouds of the trade goods used by the Hudson's Bay Company. Other bits of evidence tend to identify the interred as other than a local inhabitant.

216. Through the same pass the party crossed when they entered the valley.

217. On Hat Creek.

218. At this point the route deviates from that which the brigade followed in the fall of 1832.

219. Fall River.

220. Through Dead Horse Pass to the headwaters of McLeod River. This site appears on Reading's map of 1849.

221. Sheep Rock is a landmark of historic significance. The campsite at its base was used as early as 1825 by Hudson's Bay Company trappers and is mentioned frequently in their journals. It lies at the crossroads of several ancient Indian trails.

222. The brigade is crossing Shasta Valley.

223. Klamath River.

224. Across Siskiyou Mountain to Rogue River, Oregon.

225. Two interesting records of routes of trappers. This corroborates the statement of J. J. Warner as to Ewing Young's route of 1832 and also indicates that Michel Laframboise returned north inland and not along the coast as tradition states.

226. The brigade is following a route blazed by Joseph Gervais.

227. Near Roseburg, Oregon.

228. Yoncalla Creek.

229. The old Territorial Road crosses this mountain, but the present highway skirts it to the eastward and reaches the Willamette Valley by a low pass.

230. Long Tom River.

231. Marys River, formerly Mouse [*Souris*] River.

232. Champoeg.

233. Tualatin River.

234. Willamette Falls at Oregon City.

Loaded Words

By Dolores Waldorf Bryant

IN the summer of 1856 men were killing each other for their ideas, not only in California but throughout the nation. Even the printed word was loaded with insult and vituperation. The *status quo* of the past fifty-six years, with two foreign wars and great territorial gains to its credit, was being assailed by the hot notions and murderous intentions of the perennial reformers: bitter young men who saw only evil and senility in the established ideas of their elders, discontented men who thought it was about time a few other people cut themselves a slice of cake.

A presidential campaign crackled across the nation. Political opponents considered each other blackguards and said so. Every plan for averting hard times and reclaiming prosperity was represented by a loud and zealous political party. In every caucus meeting aspiring candidates roared accusations and all but pulled the flooring out from under each other. Every party blamed all the others for bringing about the terrible panic of 1837 and all of them were doing their unconscious best to hasten the approach of a second catastrophe, the depression of 1857.

In San Francisco as well as in hundreds of other American towns, backroom dickering between ward politicians, trading in votes, and corruption of public officials were not only facts but well-aired facts. Hard times and the lush opportunies of a rich, new country had neither encouraged restraint nor improved morals.

When accusations and denunciations failed to annihilate opponents, men leapt in utter exasperation to satire, most potent and ominous of all human weapons. The opening guns of the American Civil War were fired, not at Sumter, but some six years previous when editors began loading their pens with a deadly vitriol.

San Francisco's crusading *Bulletin,* not yet a year old, lashed out in the spirit of the times. Its sledge-hammer editorials got its editor a rendezvous with death on a May evening in 1856 and inaugurated a summer devoted entirely to violence, death at the end of stout hemp rope, black lists of excommunication, howling witch hunts, and bloody street brawls.

By mid-July every man went armed, San Francisco was in a state of insurrection, and the Vigilance Committee of 1856 was up to its elbows in fury. The *Bulletin's* editor, Thomas King, and his special writer, "Caxton" (William Rhodes), had run out of all the more malignant words and were beating their brows. At this moment, July 18, 1856, somebody who signed himself merely "Bob" came to the rescue with a piece of satire which has not lost one volt of its insolence in the eighty-five years which have intervened. Here it is:

SQUATTERS WANTED!

Several families can be accommodated with airy and comfortable rooms, in the buildings purchased by the Common Council for the City Hospital, on Filbert st. The situation of these buildings is pleasant, and the air salubrious. The rooms have never been used for hospital purposes, and there is no taint of disease about the walls.

Persons owning horses can be furnished with stabling, the city making no charge for anything on the premises.

There is also a good well of water in the yard, and a fine place to dry clothing in the balcony.

Timid people can be assured that the building is in every way adapted for a comfortable residence, and that they need not be suspicious of it, because the County Supervisors rejected it for hospital purposes. The Supervisors had no *objections* to the building itself, it being in every respect better adapted for the purposes of such an institution than the one now rented by the city; but the building on Stockton street, at present used as a City Hospital, being owned by a friend of the Board who received funds, it was hired to accommodate him. Parties may be assured, then, that *the building now lying idle is, in all respects, good and serviceable,* and wanting tenants, the few there having no objections to an increase, as the premises are roomy.

CAUTION.

The Superintendent of Public Buildings cautions occupants, not to use the partitions for fire wood, until the doors and windows are all burned.

Parents, especially the city Fathers, are invited to view the premises.

For further particulars call an empty treasury.

Bob.

Some Letters of William S. Jewett, California Artist

Edited by Elliot Evans

WILLIAM S. JEWETT, an early portrait painter of San Francisco, was born in South Dover, New York, in 1812.[1] After several years of training he was admitted as an associate member of the National Academy of Design in 1845.[2] His career in New York was neither notably productive nor especially successful.[3] In late May or early June 1849 he embarked for California on the bark *Hope*, apparently with few regrets on forsaking an artistic career. It was his evident intention to improve his fortune in business or in the gold fields.[4] To profit by his brush seems not to have occurred to him until he reached San Francisco. On his arrival there he found the markets glutted and the gold fields crowded but portraits and landscapes in demand. Early in 1850 he produced his first picture.[5] He remained in the state, painting and shrewdly husbanding his resources, for twenty years, returning to New York only at the end of 1869.[6]

Although Jewett was a very popular bachelor whose painting was much in demand, there is little information at present about him, and relatively few of his California pictures are known.[7] Evidently it was his intention to paint a large number of pictures and sell them for as much as he could get for them.[8] Many of his paintings must have been destroyed in fires and floods in San Francisco and Sacramento where the major part of his work was executed.[9] Others certainly were sent to eastern relatives by the original sitters, and possibly still more have found their ways out of California since.[10] As many of Jewett's works are unsigned, many of his pictures, both in private and public collections, remain unidentified. It is possible that attics and storerooms contain still others.

After Jewett's return to the East, the generation who knew him and patronized his studio departed, a whole new generation of artists arose in California, and the artist was largely forgotten. In New York his identity has been confused with that of his contemporary of the same name, William Jewett of the well-known Waldo and Jewett firm of portrait painters.[11] Biographical references are scarce.[12] Jewett married in Massachusetts in 1870 or 1871. His one son, William Dunbar Jewett, became well known as a sculptor in France where he died in 1926.[13]

Fifty-five of William S. Jewett's letters from California, 1849-1869, constitute the artist's only known personal record and the only consecutive account of his life and activities in California.[14] They contain his only known sketches.[15] The sections printed here are selected for their bearing on Jewett's life and for their accounts of early California events. The parts omitted refer to family and personal affairs. It has seemed desirable to issue the letters by number in chronological order. In several instances the addresses are unknown; in others, the amount of significant material is so limited as to make salutations only an unnecessary interruption in an already broken text. Jewett's spelling has been left in its original state.

This material is published for its relevance to early California conditions as viewed by an artist, and with the hope that further information concerning a very considerable but neglected painter may be brought to light to facilitate a more adequate documentation of the artist's life in California.

Letter I Bay of San Francisco [New York Harbor]
May 27th, 1849.

No doubt you are all very much astonished at the heading of this letter, and that we should have gone off so uncermoniously, but the fact is that evry body belonging to the expedition has been in *such a hurry* for so long a time that they have instilled their spirit into the ship so when we got all on board and our *potent* sails spread we found ourselves all *of a sudden*—we have not *landed* yet and indeed we are lying *some distance* from the City and as everything is covered with *fog* it is quite impossible to give you any account of how the *land* lies, but there are some bright yellow objects shining thro the mist, and some, projecting above the fog, and we have had several meetings of our philosophical committee on board and they report that the *said shining objects* must be no less than the *big lumps* and mountains of gold we heard of at home—so we are at work making ready to clear the vessel of her now worthless cargo and getting out takels and crowbars to roll them on board and load up at once and if we have as quick a voyage home you may expect to *see us lying at the warf at New York some eight or ten days from this yet*—when I came to town I found everything going on as the most fastidious could wish and some or most of our company are so—and everything had been purchased of the best and at the lowest prices and put nearly all on board and the Bark nearly ready for sea—the reason of their delay is that some of the shareholders have not been able to get money to pay up their subscription which to render the expedition more complete they have [been] admitted in since we have paid ours, our fitting out hath taken some more than our first calculation and we want fifteen hundred to take to sea and we think it best to insure at the expense of the Co. and in the name of the Co. which will be some nine hundred on some twenty eight thousand, so we think it best to be slow and sure than fast and uncertain—you can allow any insurance you choose to make on the vessel providing you inform the Ins. Co.

of a previous policy existing–So you see how things are doing here and for further particulars inquire within.

[A rough sketch of the bark *Hope* with "California" on pennant] There are more applicants for shares than we will admit but the first that pay in we shall accept and put to sea but not under some ten days–I think and all think, and we don't care to hurry as we want they should get all the *fighting* done between the Mexicans and yankees before we arrive as prob. there will be some and most of the members of our Co. are decidedly in favour of wearing whole skins.

. . . I can't say when exactly we shall isue certificates of stock we had the subject up yesterday and will do it in the course of this week. . . . best regards to Mr. Forrest [of whom a portrait exists]. . . .

Letter II Rio Janeiro, August 27, 1849.

As we are wandering in this strange [land] among the ever green bowers of the tropics the idea is still uppermost in my mind "do my friends think of me as I think of them?" . . . they all make me to put sketches in their letters and beg me to write them to for they say I can write so fast and let nothing interrupt me at the time–I suppose you wonder at our stay here so do we, but it is most difficult making these indolent people to work in a hurry so we are hoping to be ready for sea in a few days more. . . .

I will tell you something of the incidents of our *voyage*–well, the first *incident* I was concious of after we left port was that of being wretchedly *seasick* yet not so poorly off but that I could laugh at those who laughd at me and I believe that during the raging of the epidemic we had the jolliest time of all the voyage–I found a never ending interests in the ocean–the skies, clouds and storms–and for weeks I could do but little else than look and look at its ever changing aspect–its light and shade never ending in variety and beauty of affect–the majestic undulation of its waves as they sported with our little Bark that rode as easy as a water lilly on the bosom of its own eliment, we had gentle breezes that set us out at a good pace yet the quiet at last became monotonous and tedious and we wished almost for a storm to enliven us up and give us an opportunity of testing our courage and india rubbers–we at last on the Sunday evening following saw a dark cloud rising on the horizon a something we had not seen before we asked the capt. what it ment, he smiled and said he could tell better when it showed its self, so we looked and waited and put on our rubber coats and thick boots and mustered on deck to await the event with looks of direful portent yet courage strong, on came the tempest cloud with black terrow on its brow while not a breath stird our vessel that lay "like a painted ship on a painted ocean,,. "Capt. what do you think of it,, but he only smiled, so all we could do was to wait and see for our selves, and so we did. On came cloud on cloud blacker than the last until nearly over our vessel when strang to say it seperated—and left us—just as calm as ever—but capt. wheres the squall? Oh but gentlemen I want to introduce you by degrees to old Boreas, youl find him and Neptune are very intimate companions yet some of these days. But as yet we have only seen where they have been not where they are. We have had many little squalls and if a ship is well managed find them rather interesting, they have such beautiful rainbows behind and such fine dark clouds as they approach. We had one at night when the moon was in full and as the wild cloud passed away it reflected back on our view the most perfect lunar bow imaginable—bright and pure as silver I never saw but one and that, the lovely arch that overhangs on Niagras mighty foam. The rising of the tropical sun and moon is beautiful beyond description, and nothing can be more interesting to a northerner than the gradual sinking of the stars of his own hemisphere and the dawning of new ones in the south—The losing the north star what we always turn to when we want to find the pole and to now look in vain for it seems strange yet we turn our eyes to the south upon a constellation of greater intrest bound up with the affections of every pure soule that looks upon it—It is composed of four [diagram] stars of the third magnitude I should think—one at each extremity of the lower points and a larger reddish star at the head, and is situated near the southern pole which it revolves round with head outwardly—the inhabitan[ts] of this hemisphere tell the time of night by it as well as to worship its significant resemblance. We appear to have chased the milky way to its home as we are immediately under its broadest and brightest portions while it wholly disappears in the south and it seems so strange to look north to find the sun and the moon is turned tipsiturvy yet she shines as bright as ever she did at old Dover—we tried to katch some fish out on our voyage, yet we kept too far from land—we saw a few whale and some Dolphin but they would not be caught—so we could not cook them One of the most remarkible objects that struck our view was the luminous character of the water under or near the line of the sun as we approached it increased and found it consisting of three distinct forms the first was the luminous nature generaly when in violent motion caused by any body passing thru it like our ship which left a sheet of living light in her wake as far as the eye could reach of most brilliant phosphoric light—the second form surpasses all description in beauty—imagine the most luminous stars in heaven brought down to the deep, dark blue sea and riding in the silver foam of its mighty wave—the waves ever rolling on and dashing against our prow thrown back their lofty crests upon the dark bosoms studded with a thousand stars of living fire in foaming silver no thought can conceive its beauty nor pen describe—the third an equally wonderful character of light consisted in a globular submerged state about the size of a common solar lamp but apparently brighter, floating and swiming in our wake as tho endowed with life and sporting with our bark, occasionaly they would float to the surface and burn with a short lived existance and vanish, as tho atmosphere destroyed rather than nourished their existance—and here at the stearn would be seen the three characters distinctly all sporting togther in one dazzling volum of liquid light illuming the depths of the pale warm dawn to where the mermaids live for what I know at all events some of us thought we could see them dancing by the lamps we lighted for them—Near this quarter we were becalmed and a dead calm at sea is so strange, all is so quiet no object in sight—but our selves hemmed in by the blue sky on every side a gentle lurch, like a field of waving grain, passing over the sea and sails flapping listlessly on the yards, while we loung, read, play backgammon or climb the riging for exercise and to find a sail—a joyful sight at sea. I never had so perfect an idea of the immensity of the ocean before, knowing how many thousand ships are constantly on the waters and going the same way with us, yet—to be alone—alone on the wide deep for a month as we were and not behold an object bearing the evidence of human existance but our own vessel is overwhelming to the comprehention of the magnitude of these mighty depths—yet for once we happened to be becalmed in the close neighborhood of an English East India packet as large as five of us and so great was our leisure and strong the temptation that three of our party and my self concluded to pay her a visit—so Capt. lent us a small boat and we took some sailors and rowed to her and found them quite as much interested in us as we were in them and rather more frightened for as our vessel being smaller it can sail faster in light winds and by her peculiar rakish build and being painted black withall they were sure we could be none other than a pirate and as there were many ladies on board great alarm was spread thru the vessel and as we came near them as they were in our course the officer shouted out to us thru his trumpet to *keep away* greatly to our amusement and supprise so we gave them a wide berth yet lingered so long in their neighborhood that we concluded to pay them a visit when they told me all this story with much glee—we were rec'd by the English ladies and gentlemen with great politeness and cordiality—found them to consist of officers and their wives going to India to join their stations and wives going to join their husbands already there—and some noblemen and merchants in all about 80 and a pack of Fox hounds numbering fifty two and some fine English horses—they showed us the ship and all its spacious comforts and then introduced us to the ladies about 20 in number at all ages—yet altho of the highest breeding it would be *impossible* to fall in by accident with so large collection of American women of the same age and not find a far greater amount of beauty and I do not believe all Europe can produce as much feminine beauty as one of our northern states—they were very inquisitive about America and callifornia and wondered how we dare go among the pistols & bowye knives but when we told them that we had as many as anybody they opened their eyes and said well then we think yoll' not get shot—They urged us to remain to dinner but we had not time so we drank wine exchanged wishes and papers and departed promising to remember each others names and watch their fortunes—our vessel came along side and took us up while they cheered long life to the *Hope* and we to the *Barham* when a light breeze filled our sails and we were soon out of sight—nothing can be more pleasant to the affections than the meeting of a vessel thus at sea, and I am sure I made some friendships on board that vessel that would last for life could we meet sufficiently to manifest it—In truth I find plenty of good warm friends wherever I turn, I shall have many here at sea whom heaven preserve from harm and sometime in future permit us to meet again—There are many American vessels put in at this port—some come back in distress from Cape Horn to repair for a second trial. We hope to run the gauntlet free yet after daring our all, we must look to him who holds the tempest for permission to accomplish our desire there are some ladies on some of the vessels and not larger ships than ours. We commiserate them all in our power—yet I am told, they endure it as well as any one on board—We are spending our time between rambling on shore and writing letters on ship and the latter occupation would be amusing to a spectator and even to us if we had time to observe it but time with us is a precious commodity just now in this land of novelties—I don't know that I told you of the habits of the water carriers here, they carry it on their heads from beautiful fountains in different parts of the city in 6 or 8 gallon casks on their heads and so perfectly preserve the ballance that I have frequently seen them running with it while sporting with their fellow slaves at the place of supply and nothing affords a better subject for a characteristic sketch of the slaves at Rio than one of these fountains surrounded by fifty of them filling and waiting to fill their vessels—The market also is very interesting, the female slaves (and some are beauties) bring in fruits and vegitables of the country to sell and to see them and watch their ways is worth many an hour full of fun & frolluk and as ready to drive a bargain—the Capt. and I strolled in there this morning and while buying some orranges I happened to tread on some small tomatoes of a neighbouring vender a bright handsom young wench who probbably wanted to attract our attention so I turned around to a terrible to do some one was making behind me and there she was wringing her hands and pointing to a callapsed tomatoe in dispair, while I frightened to compassion at her distress handed her a som money to make amends but she turned away with a merry laugh at the success of her joke and ended by making us buy something—I have not seen a mehlancholly looking slave or one going doggedly at his work but singing and lively all the time—I am with the simple polite character of the people, their politeness is as natural to them as it is to be lazy. . . . The free blacks occupy the same position here as the portugues almost and a favorite slave is friend as well as servent, collects all gossop for his master or mistress heads all the little petty intrigues of families &c and are the factotum—I saw yesterday one of the first carriages in Rio, it contained on the back seat the mistress and her slave dressed in as rich a style beside of her while two gentlemen in white kids were on the front seat treating both with eaqual attention—and at parties the free all recvd the same as the whites—yet the black is found here in a lower grade of slavery than any where in the world. Well I conclude you are by this time tired out yet I hate to leave you and say good bye it's like leaving home a second time three or five months must elapse before you can possibly hear again and only think how long it is yet to be ere I can hear from home. . . .

Letter III San Francisco, December 23, 1849

Here we are at last, in that wonderful land we have heard so many stories of, stories of evry character, length and interest—I have been ashore and am not able to contradict one of them—I should think, by the appearance of things that all you hear in the papers is quite true—They have however got through their riots and now perfect order reigns, strict laws—and evry man seem to mind his own business and to let his neighbours alone—Such perfect harmony you would look for in vain in a place so densely populated, this, is very important to well disposed people and I think they by far out number any other class, natives, foreigners and all of the rowdy sort—

There is scarcely a crime and rarely a theft. We arrived here on the 17″ making one of the quickest voyages from the states—just five months sailing time, and evry man of us in perfect health—This town is composed of the greatest conglomeration of trapsticks for the protection of humanity from the elements that the world ever knew, It is about the size of Pokeepsie, houses, tents, hencoops, dog-kennels and all, your first impression is, that there has been a great earthquake, shaking up a city, houses, men, I would say women and children, but there's none to shake—but everything that is here looks as though it had been shaken into a complete jelly, for the rainy season is now at its hight and the mud is on the average three foot deep, and the few houses and many tents yet holding up their heads all as yet in part undisolved particles of matter which if there is much more water added [will] certainly decompose—The first thing we done after casting anchor was to jump for the shore, we must see those big lumps and „Californy„ we had long previously prepared ourselves in the morning by brushing our shoes and shaving our faces (for we have always shaved on making port) putting on white shirts vest coats and pants and stood wistfully looking for the town with our spyglasses as we floated slowly into the harbour with the tide, it was a calm, beautiful day with the thermometer at 50° and oh! we constant exclaimed what a lovely winters climate! Lo gradualy as the beautiful bay opened to our view the town appeared. The vessels first ships, ships beyond ships streaching away to the So. eastward until shut out by the hills the city is to be built upon there are about three hundred sail here and as many more up the Sacramento–*and gold enough for all!*

[Sketch of San Francisco Harbor from the Bay,
about 400 yds. N.E. of Telegraph Hill]

This is as it appeared to us on entering harbour the city being behind the central hill and tents whitning them in all directions–vessels sunk and rotting down around the bay and *all* nearly deserted–We came to anchor and cast off one boat for the shore on landing, it was quite dark by this time and the lights of the town were shining forth in every part which seemd all alive with people, we started up from the wharf its true there was a little mud but it must, thought we, be "drier farther in the town!" Not yet we must pick our way! pick, jump, stride and totter and we got some what into some thing that no doubt looks very like a street on a map but it was not reconisable in its natural form although they called it "Broadway" it proved so to us for some got across and some got half way across and some tried to get across. But they all succeeded in gitting *stuck.* Stuck fast in the mud blacked boots *best* pantaloons and all. Oh help me out cried one I cant get out myself says the other oh dear says a third Ive lost my boot–Shocking what shall we do say we all "go on board again and wait for daylight,, and all coming to the conclusion that we never found such heavy mud anywhere at home, concluded that it must be caused by the gold in it, thought it best to comply with the recommendation, so with much ado we got back on board our comfortable vessel, where we scraped and washed as well as we could–The next morning at breakfast time the port Captain by his example when he came on board taught us how to dress–he said it wasnt so bad now as last week–now the boots only required to be four feet long–so we put on our *four footed* boots, coarse clothes and went ashore the second time–Take the poorest parts of your village, knock down all the houses–build them up again, cover their roofs with straw beds ticks sprinkle over the whole a good sized methodist camp meeting and you have a San Franciscan compound–*above the mud*–The New York influence here is very strong and by way of keeping up its good old customs they had a fire here yesterday among all this rubbish–with you it would not cost ten-thousand to rebuild the houses yet here the paper of to day makes a littiral statement of each individual house and it amounts to over a million and two days ago it would have brought it in cash—The worlds age never knew such an era as this—no segasity could have predicted it no human intellect can fortell its result.

It is difficult to say which predominates here mud or gold—we are not disapointed in the yeald of the mines as you must know by the papers—We are not disapointed in anything only in some of our large machinery, and which though is a very important matter if true, it however as far as we can learn has not been tried so we have yet an argument against those who say it impractable—

But *saw mills* are all the *fashion* in California . . . you know by the papers the enormous prices of everything better than I can tell you. Our sailors are now employed on shore for eight dollars per day and found yet all cannot get that constantly   living is three dollars per day   common dinner one dollar   tallow candles one fifty per doz. I priced them in a tent today—we are selling our butter for one twenty five or fifty the pound—long boots 70 dollars per pair—flannels and woolens dear—calioes [*sic*] of all sorts and all fancy goods cheap, not at all in use yet until we have our wives here—Rum, cheap as dirt, and as pleanty as swill—Gamblers as pleanty as blud succers in a summer pool, and gold and silver on their tables enough to sicken one of it, when we see the wretches it makes, who throng them, evry hotel, and there are fifty of them have their rows of gambling tables in the main, principle room, each table paying a thousand dollars per month rent—almost half the gold produced by the mines has been swallowed by these resorts of the wreckless—

Lumber is [blank] per thousand and likely to continue so carpenters sixteen dollars per day—money ten percent per month on the best security pleanty as it is, it is the pleantifulness of it and the immediat wants of the people that makes it so high   it cannot be less while the gold lasts, you will soon if things with you do not already feel its effects, the mines are inexhaustible—Speculation rages with an hundred fold [as] it did in N. York in the years 35 & 6   lots from one to one hundred and fifty thousand and all things *needed* here in proportion, Fortunes immense lost and gaind here in a few months—and all this is *real*—no buble except the human vanity of it & all is a *cash* transaction half down and the residue on sixty or ninty days.

I find many old friends out here—all are bettering their fortunes and some have made them—some one that is an old acquaintan of *Ikes* a dry goods man I forget his name . . . but I think he looks *ratherish* like as tho he wished him self back in St. Marks place— . . . heaven is not quite forgotten here in this worldly place . . . there are many churches and two of them at least well filled—the Episcopal & Methodists—Our good capt. and my self attended the former and heard a fine Christmas sermon,[16] the church was filled with a most respectable audiance who responded well and sung the hymns in harmony—All here have great hopes of California I know not why they cannot be fulfilled—would to heaven they might purge it of those gamblers poisning all the young shoots of civilization and Christianity—We are to have a company meeting tomorrow so I will stop to tell yo whats in the wind—good night.

We have had one business meeting and desided that as we have the largest scow in port and that we cannot for the present use it at the mines that we will put in togother here where there is an immense business for all sorts of *lighters* as there are but one or two docks to the town, probably put one steam engine into a sawmill or scow and what number of the party are not needed for port opperations will go up to the mines—we shall sell a portion of our provisions &c. that we shall not need and will bring *now* an enormous price, to raise money for further company business—perhaps to purchass a Woodworths planing machine as there is but one in town and that belongs to a friend of mine—he may join with us some way—there is the best feeling in our company and most of them first rate business men and will not flinch nor imprudently risk—I dont want to anoy you with all these particulars but as you must hear much of matters of business here through the papers I let you know what we are doing under the circumstances as we find them. I cannot recommend any thing to be sent out here saving *money* it brings ten percent per month and will continue to do so without doubt. The wise thing for any one who can raise it is to come out with it at once it is as tight as it can well be—Butter, the best kind put up as ours was in twenty pound kegs—20 pound kegs well packed in large kasks filled with brine will *always* bring a dollar or a dollar and a half cash Ours is as sweet as the first hour it was packed—good cheese I dont know that I would recommend *havy* allthough ours is such—it moulds so much on the way it ought to be put in tin cases it readily brings a dollar the pound—the best pork is from thirty five to forty dollars the barrel, salt beef cheep—candles retail at dollar and half per doz. (tallow) dried apples and peaches (used very much at the mines for vegatables) bring from forty to fifty cents per pound, and all those things used in a new country where people live ruff and tumble are and must continue to be high considering the wonderful influx of population, there are in California 600 vessels and supposed to be five hundred more due—tell Ike if he can mak up a ship load of such things and bring out he cant help but do well and then hire out the money after he gets here . . . Gold is sixteen dollars [torn place] when a man [torn] . . . with him to the mint where he gets its full value [torn] coining is going on here to a very considerable extent sanctioned by the authorities.

Business is done here with inconceivable rapidity—and I exceedingly regret that Ike did not come out here last winter as I advised him—yet it is a miserable place for some and might have proved so to him—send this letter to him and tell him to wright as soon as he gets it as you must all do so, and pay the postage for I may not have by that time any availeble money as all the funds of the Co. will be appropriated for the best furtherin of its legitimate objects   Should you or any of your friends or acquaintances wish to send or invest anything here write to me, for I have some of the first business men here for my friends   Aspinwalls Agent[17] the Van Dykes, etc., etc. and if I was not trammeld with company affairs I believe I could do much on shore here, but enough at present. We are all anxious for the mine and are shaping our course as speedily as possible—our Barque is held in high extimation here and among the world of ships here for sail will bring more than any of them   we have an offer of 7000 what we gave but we think we can get eight or more as she has made so quick a passage. You must not be surprised to hear in my next of our company disolving or of our [torn place] fortunes in a body all but one or two are firmly [torn] to hang together they have got to speculating on [torn] want their money to use there next month. . . .

P.S. We have just had an offer of twenty thousand dollars for our engine but refuse it—the co. will I think purchase the plaining machine that I am so anxious for, we can monopolize the market with it I think. If we should get the plaining machine I would not like anything said about it for the present.

Letter IV San Francisco, Jan 28, 1850.

If my letters afford one half the pleasure to you that yours do to me, it is realy a happy circumstance that I am so far away for were I nearer they would never be written hence non of the delicious excitement when *the Steamer* comes in. You must ere this have received my ill-laden latters freighted with bad news from our forlorn company wich like all others fall in pieces on coming to these shores—like Sinbad the sailors ships on sailing near the magnetick rocks all the bolts holding the planks together fly out and every beam floats off on its own account—It is in vain to struggle against the dissolution   nothing can prevent it in any Co. *ever* yet formed or that can ever be formed away from these shores. I struggled and preached and *lectured*—all to no purpose—I believe we might have done great works were [it] possible for men to put confidence in each others yet as it appears not to be a law of human nature I hav to surrender this point and trust to the winds. . . . . wher ever I turn I find as warm friends as I left behind and all strive to do me *kindnesses*
My own fortunes promis the most fortunate results and were it not for the sad disapointing of those hopes my sanguine persuasions excited in

others nothing would mar the fair scene of my action I hope the accounts published in the papers have in some measure prepared the way for my explanation—No one blames another here for leaving or breaking up his company as there is pleanty of gold yet the method is so different for the mining it that no one could have calculated it, hence all are surprised alike and all suffer alike except those who came empty handed and with no preperation—Had I have jumped across the Isthmus with the two thousand dollars in my pocket a year ago I might have made it fifty thousand by this time. . . .

. . . in my last I told you I had shared the luck of nine out of six coming to this country, that I had been posoined sadly, well, after some three weeks of swelling, burning and *itching* (oh dear) and ending it off with some score of boils any where and evry where I am left better than I have been in health since I left my teens and I sing and whistle all the time and come ashore where I flounder through the mud in first rate stile—many of my old New York friends are here and they have all insisted so strongly upon my sitting up my easel right amongst all this crazy stuff that I have at last done so and am at work quite in earnest as it is impossible to get up to the mines if I should ever choose to go—I shall give my pencil the preference until all is safe and pleasant traveling and then shall look in upon the *diggers* and try and get enough for you all some trinkets. . . . Society has great hopes of *me* here and think I am a lucky fall to them, gentlemen desire their portraits to send home to their families and I am likely to be full of work I paint very rapid take them on the wing and all are profesighing a fracture to my hand. I am hand in glove with the leading politicians of *the State* yet dont know which party they belong—the govenor [Peter H. Burnett] and Lt. gov. [John McDougal] have been written to requesting their portraits Col. [Jonathan D.] Stevenson has been today and ordered his—the Prefect of the City [Horace Hawes] has ordered his and some of the principal merchants—I am painting—and I am as jolly among them as a clam at high water. I charge from hundred and fifty to eight hundred dollars—shall paint two or three per week if they come fast enough I was paid for one last night—all in silver (no paper here) and what to do with the mass I could not tell it was the first time in my life that my money was ever a trouble to me—So I came home and got a large canvas bag I had used for common trapsticks went back and I shoveled it into it and lugged it home. One of the old masters it is said died of the fetique of carrying home a load of copper coin he got for one of his pictures I never believed it until now—I am in no alarm for my strength however—All expenses here are enourmous—rents the base of them all. I pay one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month for a little room not larger than the one I kep my coal in in N. Y. but I like these high prices if you are brisk enough in your business to keep pace with them a fortune can be made speedily—I don't expect to make a fortune yet I shall make all I can in a fair way I bought a lot a few days since for two hundred dollars—three days afterward I sold half of it for $250, yet retaining one half which you may have for $500 if you like—it was all a *cash* transaction no sham at all about it except that I have never seen the lot nor don't know where it is—considering my time worth more than the lot to look it up but it is a certainty that I have $250 on it and that I honestly believe it to be in existence and *above water*

Boarding is very expensive here and we manage all sorts of ways to render it cheap a gentleman friend sleeps with me in my room, so to pay for his lodging I make him provide bread and butter for breakfast and tea and make the coffee and bring the water we have an alcoholic coffee pot which makes it very nice and two cups and a stone jar to keep our butter in these and our two bowyee knives constitute our articles of housekeeping—We distinguish each others cup by his being clean and mine the reverse, some times he forgets to wash his when forthwith a great dispute arises as to which is which—it generaly ends by washing both cups out and starting anew—We have a very first rate cup of tea sometimes, Ill assure you and occasionaly laugh at the figure we cut . . . We get very good dinner at the many lunches about town for a dollar per dinner—washing is Six dollars per Doz. here when anything of that sort is done. I doubt whether there is much, for I don't know a gent. who ever had any—Ive got one clean shirt left yet and I go regularly every morning to my trunk and look at this precious relict of tidiness and turn away with a sigh at the awful condition my dandyism is reduced to. Im sure I'll have to come home to get washed up—My flannels are very nice but most all my other clothes are a mere encumbrance. . . . I send you some of the newspapers I send you those that have caught me up first of course I dont patronize any others this is the largest paper published in town and has the largest distribution.[18] . . . . . . there are many Chinamen here, they make very good and quiet citizens—many of them keep eating houses. . . .

. . . Mr. & Mrs. Brown are here, just arrived from Texas, they boarded with us in N. York. Mr. Spies & brother have returned disgusted, leaving a letter here for me with the supposition that I will soon follow them—that may or not be I shall [try] my spunk yet a little farther first, and with heavens healthful blessing and warm friends swarming around me I shall not fear. I consider this place the greatest field for a good business mind the world affords and the worst for an indifferent one there is an immense deal of business done here Money is still let at 10 and 15 per cent per month and will continue so. . . . . . . our clergyman has returned (Mr. Mines) yet left [no] one in his place.

Letter V San Francisco Jan. 30, 1850

. . . I shall have to tell a great deal of bad news of our ill fated hope, The Company is all gone to *smash* like its hundreds illustrious precidents—There was as I told you before no quarreling among its members yet as all and each *knew* that *he* knew best they all delayed until there was nothing to do and the market fell for all we had on hand so loss upon loss followed Some of our members lose several thousand dollars holding several shares, others not so much, of course we are now hoping to realize 75 per cent. We have sold the engine and scow & ship for $15,000, our provision house and much machinery is still left—we cannot tell as yet what to calculate on that as at present the market is down and we think it not best to hurry it yet had we have sold everything at once in a business like manner as I and some others wanted to do when we first came in and found out the impracticability of mining together we might have realized a handsome profit now we cannot tell what we shall get as all this doing is attended by a great deal of expense one way and another However, dont cry as some of our members almost do at the sad disappointment. I'll try and make it all up. . . . there is more gold here than I reconned on before starting and if heaven spares me my health, I'll be sure to get some of it yet—we have sold for part cash part time I will loan it on good security at what I can get per month or send it home just as you say—the persons who have bought our ship engine and scow are going to do just what I wanted our com. to do with them now our members wonder why they did not do it, they have acted just like . . . a parcel of women would have done disputed and discussed until they got down to the very worst course which of course they took and are now lamenting on their loss—All that California sickens me of is co-partnerships they rarely will do. I am not sick of my fellow men as some are who are disappointed here, those had better pluck the beam out of their own eyes perhaps—to see the peaceful state of things here where there are no laws nor ladies is admirable to the unprejeduced beholder of the scene—The great vices here are gambling and drinking—and wearing dirty shirts—here I heave a deep sigh for what shall I do? pay six dollars a Doz. for washing my old ones! if any one will wash them to the halves I will thank them—I am determined to live as economical as possible. "And save my money and buy me a farm." I made fifty dollars today in painting one little head at one sitting—There are other artists here and doing comparably nothing some do not endeavor to paint at all, I somehow appear to be popular and don't know why either deservedly or undeservable most likely the latter. I dont know how long it may last—I will do all I can however in the mean time to deserve its continuance. . . . There are some gents. here who are determeined I shall paint a mammoth panorama of the rivers and diggings, they offer all the money and every possible convenience, it would be a most uncongenial task for my mind and I try to shuffel them off   I promised to see them to night but rather stay home and write to you—besides there has been some artists here on the same business and the ground is preoccupied which would so much impare the novelty to the publick that I think there would be no profit in the result, yet so great is their faith in the powers of my pencil that they say the bush would only be beaten for me to katch the game. but I declare I wont do it as long as I can make fifty dols. per day at portraits . . . but I am bound to see the diggings and sketch on my own accout and dig on the account of all my friends to get gold enough to make them all a present. . . .

Letter VI San Francisco, Feb. 24, 1850.

I have just recied yours from Pokeepsie of the 11th January—how long it takes for a talk to get round back to the starting point . . . There was no steamer down to Panama in the 15th so in addition to the relief it gave our merchants here it kep us from sending letters to our friends—your amusing account of your New Year's visit made me quite homesick—indeed the desire to get home and see mother again is sometimes so great that for a few moments while I allow its possession of me, I realy think I should have a nervous fit if I did not dispel the feeling by some exciting affair in my business. . . .

You must have ere this learned all about the miserable finalle of the wonderful Hope Co. and talked it all over, had your long and short faces, and now waxing into a state of inexpressibly dumb suspence as to the final result of its business concerns touching dividend . . . if you have rec'd all the letters I sent you as I have written you two or three by every steamer, every fifteen days saving the last some 1st of Jan. by Mr. Osgood—15th by Mr. Coit—1st Feb. by Mr. Devoe—say whether you rec'd by all those gent.—Our company will realize 75 per cent for stock holders, which with all the rediculous management is doing better than all most any Co. that has ever come here   but few have realized anything beyond a big *debit* which they soon found contracted shortly after arriving here   the "Mechanics Own" that made so much noise home is making still more here   she has been ordered under the guns of the revenue cutter to oblige them to keep the peace on board of her—I dont know what will become of her hundred poor mechanics—I am pretty well tired of the matter and it is nearly wound up   I will do the best I can with the money and make up the ballance. . . . I am doing first rate in my profession   No one who is *any body* thinks of being painted by anyone but W. Jewett—by the by there is a Mrs. Wm. Jewett[19] here the most beautiful woman in California   she and her husband are to sit to me—I have the favour of all and am in a good train   Col. Stevenson called on me twice and wants I should paint him Judge [G. Q.] Colton is now waitting and I *may* get the governor of the state for the state etc. etc. All this comes of having good friends—I brought and try to carry a deserving character with me and I find a good one or a bad one always travels faster than a man can and his reception is accordingly—yet a man must have something more than character to succeed, he must have capacity to please I am fortunate in pleasing all who sit to me here as I did those at home who are out here now and give me position at once which I am able to sustain—while I am very sorry that there are artists here and coming all the time who have nothing to do—if *Osgood* were here now he could stand but little chance with me as I can far excel him on anything *(so Capt. bragg).* by the by Col. Jack Hayes [Hays] is here and I am to paint him this is a great place for heroes of the Mexican War

The rainy season is quite over saving occasional showers and the *mud* is nearly dried up—the town is increasing rapidly in growth and rents are falling, speculation is driving on yet at a considerable rate—the weather is like mild May mornings and I think it must be a charming country to live in as far as nature is concerned after one gets aclimated which all must a sort of sickness in the process but appearing in different forms. . . . I am not *quite* done boiling and *scratching* yet—whether it has anything to do with my aclimating sickness or not I cant say, however I have lost nearly all my old skin and look wondrous bright in *spots* lik an old darky that's turning white—How much longer I shall be *mowlting*, I cannot tell but unlike the birds I dont lose my voice for greatly to the anoyance of an old batchelor neighbor next door, I am singing or whistling half the time to keep from getting homesick—you made a good guess as to our arrival at San Francisco for we ran up ahead of all others who started when we did and cast anchor of the 17 Dec. if we had been three days sooner you would have heard 15 days earlier. Some of our party who cannot do anything here start for the mines tomorrow. . . . [letter incomplete]

Letter VII San Francisco, May 27″ 1850

I have a surmise that here comes a long letter from *Will*, so wait for dinner ere you read it. He's been burned out—"one of the sufferers by the late awful conflagration of clap traps, paper houses hencoops &c" loss, two millions, four millions, as you please, we are not particular here as to the exact amount[20]—and then he went off to see the Diggings & Californy &c, &c. I am just returned after an absence of two weeks, and pleased to find letters from home. . . . I am glad to hear of Mothers good health and spirits—tell her I have a good notion to take up a ranch out here and get her to come out and manage it. . . .

. . . I have recd 75 pr cent on Hope stock there are yet Five thousand in the hands of our agent to be appropriated for payment of debts, insurance claims &c. &c. which I suppose will take about all of it. I have always sustained myself independent of the money intrusted to me and repeat that it is ready at a moments demand, but from the tenor of your letters should I see any *sure* chance of investing it to the advantage of its owners I shall do so but not in such a manner that it cannot be drawn within a months time after hearing from them. I am just diping into speculation some, but it is with my own funds so if I lose dont be frightened and if I win you may rejoice for I send you a present of a lot—in my last letter I think I spoke of Capt. [Douglas] Ottinger having made discoveries up the coast of advantageous harbours etc. Some dozen vessels were out in serch for Trinity river since no one succeeded in finding anything of importance but he—he got into the desired positions first and his party located towns at every desirable point approximating to the mineral regions adjacent there has been considerable squabbling about them but it all ends in his parties favour and is now assuming something of a shape.[21]

There were forty eight composing the exploring party each man coming in for an equal share of land, sections of 160 acres were taken up and surveyed wherever it was thought towns would be desirable—Humbolt is deemed the most important. I send you a map of the bay, the price of shares runs up rapidly and my friends advised me to purchase at once which I have done at the tune of one thousand dollars for one sixth of a share which will give me lots of lots worth anything or not . . . an old speculator here, intimate friend of mine bought half a share for three thousand and there is no more to be had at that price—we have some of the first capitalists in town leading it and they hapen to be my friends, men of character & respect—those who have sold are those members who have no money and are obliged to dispose of a portion to be enabled to improve the other. The reports from there as to the mining country continue to be favorable and it is only the certainty of their nearness to be now *acertained* to render Humbolt only second to San Francisco in importance on the coast of California.

The money market is very much easier than it was 2 and 5 per cent per month only. I would allude again to Jannetts & Elizas money as I cannot tell yet what may be done in *our* new city of Humbolt so I cannot advise them as to that but if they do not wish to recall it I will have it invested in lots there if the town is perfectly successful or at Sacramento (where I think it will nearly double for a year or two a short time since lots doubled every month in that city—it is sure to be a large town)—or I will do just what I think best with it if they say so. Immense fortunes have been lost and won here in less than no time in speculations but those days are past. Speedy operations are few and far between and things are taking a more rational old-fashioned course than they one persued—rents are down somewhat, money is pleantier and fancy speculation subsiding But I suppose you would all like to hear Wills account of his trip to the Diggings. Well then, he must have been first burned out or I dont believe he would have started just yet—joined by the ardent solicitations of a friend living in those regions and down here at the time of the disaster. The fire occured about five in the morning just in time to disturbe us in our morning nap, I was among the first up in our building and altho it was nearly a block off we had not time to save all of our goods & chattels. It was realy amusing to see us all scampering half dressed with our lumber on our backs running about like ants when their nest is disturbed each with a precious egg. I lost nothing of importance yet there was a deal of valuable property destroyed. But I did not see a long face among the whole multitude and all looked as tho they would have money or fun from it ultimately. We started in a day or two up the Sacramento in a fine steamboat—we have pleanty now on these waters—we got through to Sacramento City by daylight the river is wholly unlike the north or east rivers—being much stronger in its currant and very crooked in consequence of running through a flat country marshy and some dry lands on either side as far as the eye can reach spreads the broad expanse covered with wild oats as thick and stout as cultivation just ripeing for the harvester (10″ May) the cattle get very fat at this time.

We found Sacramento half drowned by overflowing of the river from the melting of the snows of the Siera Navada which is some hundred miles further on yet distinctly seen from the city. Sacramento is about one third the size of Pokeepsie a year ago there was scarcely a house there to be seen, it is surrounded by immense planes level as a floor covered by oak openings—oak openings characterise much of this portion of California farther up near Humbolt bay pine and red wood—red wood is a species of cedar, yet growing tall and straight like an immense pine they are six and eight feet through easily worked and make exelent lumber—the wood is a dull red like stained cherry. My friend whom I went up with and visited lives at Colloma—Sutters saw mill, about fifty miles up the American fork towards the mountain, a stage runs there daily at the rate of $25 the passenger we rode for about 25 miles across the planes when the country commenced rolling then what we would call at Dover mountains and down in a snug little valley stands Sutters Saw Mill, *the saw mill of the world*—I found my friend J. T. Little[22] kept the largest store in the northern mines and does more business than any other trader having some half dozzen branches throughout the mines, besides several bridges his enterprising spirit has spand the numerous rivers with that are extremely profitable—sometimes yielding from three to four hundred dollars per day he has been the first to build and is reaping a great harvest, he came here with nothing but his business segacity and assiduous attentions soon connected him with good houses and the result has been that he has not only augmented theres but made his own and is now on his own hook and master of unlimited means—but as shrewed and keen as he is clever and affectionate to me. I made his acquaintance by painting his portrait—he wants I should paint him again on horse back and a view of Culloma for which he is to pay me six hundred for. I found pleanty of gold diggers at work along the river and the first thing I done was to enquire into the great circumstance that is shaking the world by becoming familiar with the miners—so out I sallied telling my friends I would show them how to dig gold they laughd and said they would not bet on me for over eighteen pence.

[Sketch]

From this sketch you can get a pretty fair idea of river digging along the banks during high water, when the floods diminsh they get as near to the channel as possible and on the gravel and sand bars—the sub stratum of all California appears to be rock, a strata of earth from six to eighteen inches thick composed of gravel, clay and comon earth lies upon this granite and some times slate, this generaly contains all the gold worth looking for, and this gold yealding strata is found in the mineral region where ever one has a mind to dig down to it. Of course the mettal is more aboundant in some places than in others but where ever you dig you will find gold and the rock, the granite sometimes seems to have been burned so as to have lost all its cohesive qualities and is of a redish color, I send you a piece rather harder than I found beneath the soil—the earth is dry and hard mixed much with small as well as large stone and requires to be loosened by the pick before shoveling, and on the river bars the stones lie in one solid mass for five feet deep these they remove and wash the sand, dirt and gravel contained in the interstices, the black iron sand always found accompanying the gold is not visible until the last opperation of washing out the gold in the tin pan. You see by the sketch one man digging from the hole in the bank to fill his bucket to carry down to the man engaged washing it in the rocker, generaly two men work at a rocker one digging and the other washes, after there has been about thirty buckets of earth passed through the rocker they lift off the top box stir up the sand & gravel wash it down with a little water and carefully rake it over on the inclined plane of the rocker with the fingers and pick out the coarser grains of gold—then put it into the tin pan to wash out the finer dust which is done in a few moments, then this peculiar black sand is left with the gold but by tiping up the pan a little more suddenly while its contents are in motion the gold is relieved of this and remains behind alone shining in its virgin purity. I soon found myself on familiar terms with the miners and found them a polite, kind and well disposed class. I sketched them, laughd and talked with them, took dinner with them and was asked to sleep in their tents also but that I thought not a very important part of the information I desired—so I thankfully declined, I bought out the contents of their rockers for the sake of obtaining specimens of gold mixed with sand and gravel. I hope to send you one of such along with this letter as my friend Mr. Audubon[23] could take it also some quartz—there are no ledges I believe of the quartz yet found in the northern mines but much in the southern only in detached pieces and pebbles, but gold is only found mingled with that mineral when it is combined with stone. I expressed to the miners a desire to try my hand at digging so one asked me what I would give him for the use of his rocker and tools to dig for the day as long as I like, he has [*sic*] not having very good luck so he thought he would make more by hiring his apparatus to me. I offered him five dollars which he readily accepted and he was to show me the tricks in cradle rocking as I told him I was a bachelor. So off came my coat and at it I went jolly enough. He laughed and I rocked and splashed and talked determined to get thoroughly versed in practical gold washing. I found there was but little necessity for getting wet if you chose to keep dry—and the digging and washing about as hard as working on a farm no worse—if miners worked as hard and steadily as our Dover farmers they would all soon have enough to make them snug & comfortable where ever they chose to go, at the time I was up, the season for procuring gold was the worst along the rivers in consequence of high water yet they were averaging five dollars per day clear of all expenses, some averaged more they were always sure to make that, then come the chances of a lucky hit several I found were making their ounce and two ounces two men next hole but one where I dug on that day took out $70. so the luck runs—well as I was *a saying* I rocked the cradle and dug and examined the stratification and the big stones and little ones and looked for quartz (which is an exceedingly scarc article generaly) and tried to get through with thirty buckets before looking at the inner contents of my rocker but I found it too difficult a matter to restrain my curiosity so I looked and poked about but could find not much that resembled gold so the owner smiled and walked off thinking he had made a good bargain and that I would soon get tired of the fun, but he didn't know his man exactly, so at it I went with a little more sagacity in regard to strata kept close to the rotten granite was careful in cleaning out all hollows and crevices and washed as many as twenty pails full of dirt ere looking for my fish, then I saw I was more fortunate the golden particles began to shine forth and I picked out several with my fingers then I washed it out with the tin pan and I began to enjoy the sport, at it again I went but could not get beyond ten buckets this time ere I must have a look and seeing the top was off why I might as well pick out my gold and out I picked it getting five dollars worth from those ten buckets—so I washed and shoveled & washed and the next hawl I found this little lump mixed with quartz which I send you for a pin it is thought here very perfect for its size and the one resembling a sprig is admired very much. Beautiful pieces are held high even here, these I send you are worth here or would cost here from an ounce to twenty dollars yet in the sprig there is scarcly a dollars worth of gold. Well I continued very much interested and the man come back to see how I was getting on and witnessing my luck got rather frightened thinking that he had sold a "pocket" he says "Well I spose youl go to dinner soon so when you knock off leave all the things in a pile so that I may know where to find them." Oh I exclaimed I dont dine until quite late and I cant stop as long as the fish bite so well. "Oh but its dangerous to work in the hot sun for those who are not used to it" yes but the water of these streams is so cool and delicious I dont fear it as long as I can wash my head and hands in it. So he went away again and I laughed and rocked away but I did get tired and hungry so I concluded to "knock off" as my luck begain to fail. I scraped my gold together and started for my friends, bragging and boasting of my skill in gold digging & wining all sorts of bets on the quantity I had dug. I could not get any one to guess over a dollar and a quarter so I showed them it to their amazement for I had dug twenty dollars worth in three hours and the affair soon went the rounds of the whole village greatly to the amusement of the miners of Culloma that a "green'un" should be so lucky. It is very beautiful gold the very best quality. I send it along with this just as I took it out of the earth and I want you to show it to mother and tell her heres that gold for those spectacles I promised her—and then I want the Capt. should have them made stout and strong either in Pokeepsie or at Stebbins B.way N. Y. and I will pay what ever they may cost, only charge the goldsmith to be sure that he puts this metal in them with as little alloy as possible to work them—weigh a pair of spectacles the pattern you may choose and that will give you the quantity of dust required—if there is any left have a ring made for Libs baby[24] and then a large heavy one for her self—and then I send gold enough obtained at the mines to make you all rings and nose jewels, . . . dont make a mistake now, and put a California diamond in the top of it. We have none here or I would send some along but I suppose there are pleanty in N. Y. there were such fine reports of them ere I left. You may try your hands washing out the sand from the specimen in the brown paper if you like—from one pan into another, you want a pan full of water to serve for a stream, the sand in the other pan must be submerged suddenly and as it stirs it up you must let it run off with the water, dont be afraid to tip the pan for the weight of the gold will prevent its running out, and if you cant do it you cant waste it if your pans are tight. . . . After amusing my self with the miners at Culloma my friend Mr. Little gave me a fine horse to ride over to the next river Middle Fork American river we rode up up the hills until we got to the top—where we found a beautiful sloping rolling country finly wooded with oak openings pine and so forth all the way for fifteen miles until we came to the next river where from an eminence we could see its windings both east and west for many miles shining like a vein of silver amid the mighty hills. Then we went down, down until we got to the bottom the decents are frightful enough until you get your nerves used to them and witness the ease with which a beast of burthen will desend them—At the time I found scarce room to turn my horse round the shore is so continuously percipitous, yet still there was a store of my friends and he was building a bridge and miners working all along—there I stayed and climbed over the hills visited the diggers and sketched for three days when Mr. Little came over after me and brought me a fine mule for my horse was lost while there, either riddn off or got loose. Oh dont mind it says Little its only one of a dozen I have out on the same pasture—horses are worth from $150 to $500 here oxen $200 per yoke milchs cows $100 oxen are used for teaming from the commercial towns on navigable waters and mules for packing over the country where wheels cannot go. They all have fine yoke of cattle the roads are so bad. I found Yankee farmers are squatting down all through—one little ranch looked so snug I asked whose it was they said he was a farmer from Vermont raising vegetables and that he sold his radishes at 25 cents a piece all he could raise which were many onions $2 a pound &c &c. Oh Im tired—good night. Dont you want to buy some lots in my city if you do let me know first thing in the morning. . . .

Letter VIII San Francisco, Calif., Nov. 28, 1850

. . . .

. . . There are farmers here who have sold to the amount of from 12 to $100,000 & 150,000 from off the farm during the last season, farms taken right up in the bush as they say (but there are no bushes here) All they do is to measure and take out plough and dig a little and their fortunes are made—All of course have not been so lucky—those plots of ground which will not admit of irrigation or are not naturally moist enough are not profitable except for cattle ranges and dealing in cattle is not at present very good business but every body is running after farms at present as eagerly as they were a little while ago after gold mines and city lots—prety much all the land within a marketable distance is now taken up and I expect next year we shall be buried alive with California produce and farming in its turn will be called a humbug as everything else here has been by the short sighted and over eager to get rich—I went up into the country the other day with Jack Hayes on a shooting excursion stopping the while at our friends ranchero the Baron Sternburgher [Steinberger][25]—we had the best kind of fun—the country swarms with wild geese and every specie of water fowl thick as flies in a dirty house in summer time— . . . the Baron does not succeed in supplying the market with beef at profitable rates at all, he is obliged to surrender to his creditors, a gentleman of my acquaintance takes it and hopes to do something this winter, they appear to have every convenience possible, a beautiful slaughter house on the banks of the river a steamer comes after their beef every other day but yet it has not paid. . . .

Letter IX San Francisco Jan. 28″ 1851

. . . .

I have just finished the portrait of a beautiful lady wife of a wealthy friend of mine which circumstance sets all the wives of *certain* other gentlemen crazy to be made as beautiful as they now acknowledge Mrs. P. to be and as wives are held in some consideration here by husbands I hope they will find it expedient to indulge their lunacy. . . . Like all frontier countries society is dreadfully bad here and withe the hardness of the times and the importation of scoundrels constantly crime is greatly on the increase all sorts of killing going on among the rowdies and gamblers, but it is fast coming to the point where reformation comences and the better class now so far out number the ill disposed that we look for it speedily. I am very much obliged to you for the papers send them often as you like whatever you happen to have by you—Archibald Smith is just around from So. America he is a very stout hale looking man he brings none of his family leaving a wife and only child at Rio Grand. his daughter is just married—He says he lost a large property by the civil wars of that province and comes here poor What he will be at he is yet undesided but thinks of trying the mines first. . . .

. . . .

Letter XI San Francisco Oct. 15 /'51

It is so long since I wrote you that I dont know whether I or you owe a letter but as that may be the postage is now so low that you wont mind I would pay it my self but out here we have no change small enough so when you answer this you must send two or three letters at once or I shall not be able to get them out of the office—Last May I was burned out again and since which time I have been spending the time with my friends Cavert & Co Sacramento the best fellows in the world where I was beged to remain until San Frisco should be rebuilt they entertained me some five months free of charge besides giving me several hundred dollars for their portraits—After being pretty bussy then I returned to this town and after a deal of fuss and expense Ive stuck up my easel and whether Im going to be very much overran or not its hard to tell and vain to calculate for six hours ahead in this country Such great changes occur here in a months time that when past you look back upon it as a whole year—The town is now being rebuilt with brick as positively fire proof as possible—there has just a large banking house failed and things are quite depressed out here at present[26]—we expect and feel sure that there will be no more large fires hence look for better times amoung the merchants—We have had very exciting times with all sorts of scoundrels, but think that we have hung and scared them pretty well out of the country this has been the great and last resort for many of the old rogues of the world, they have however met pretty well with their deserts[27]—Aside from those all California[ns] are about like what you see at home—honest people and sharpers of all degrees A man has to keep his eyes open out here or he will be done out of his boots quick enough—I suppose youve seen enough of specimens by this time yet I would give a fine one now on my desk to you for one day in Amenia—. . . how you will enjoy all my wonderful stories when I get where I can tell them to you For depend upon it I will tell good ones—that will make your eyes stare and hair bristle up like porcupins quills—In the farming wey I have a friend who has just rented a *ranch* of I dont know how many thousand acres down the coast—he pays 10,000 a year. it is stocked with cattle & horses he sends home for his wife & children and expects to make money and happiness but an hombre dont know which way the path runs in this country until it comes to an end—yet California is no humbug but people have humbuged them selves by rushing in by hundreds of thousands and meeting with consequent calamities—disapointment has been the result to a great portion—Our weather is very fine like your early days in Oct—all thro the fall winters and spring we dont yet know whether we will have a wet winter as yet we have had but two or three days rain—A great many are returning this fall to the states and makes those left behind quite homesick. I am used to the complaint and dont mind it. . . .

Letter XII San Francisco, Oct. 28, 52.

. . . .

Nov. 8. Since writing the above, we have two awful fires as you might hear by the papers, the whole of Sacramento City and a block in San Francisco adjoining my present residence,[28] but I am more in a fire proof and laugh at the flames. Some of my friends at Sacramento lost everything they have made and now got to begin again. It is astonishing how well people out here endure calamaties. A gentleman from that town was sitting to me for his portrait occasionally, when he came to San Francisco he lost some hundred thousand dollars by the fire, but a few days after he walked in to sit as usual with as happy a face as ever. It is a wonderful country for making and loosing. A farmer friend of mine commenced farming last year with twenty thousand dollars, in twelve months he has increased his means from his farm or ranch (450) acres so as to be able to purchase about ten thousand acres of land amounting to one hundred thousand dollars and expects to make the last payment on it next year.

You speak of Charles Gaylord's invention of a mole trap. Ask him if it will bear transportation and will answer for farmers as well as gardeners. Whole farms out here are almost rendered valueless in consequence of moles, gophers and grey squirrels, which live in the ground. Moles and squirrels average about fifty to the acre. . . .

Letter XIII San Francisco, Jany 14 1853

. . . .

The Weather has been very fine here. Scarcely any rain—til within this week—Business extraordinarily dull and for the want of some other excuse is atributed to that cause—it would be difficult to name any article that will bring home cost to be profitable to the Shipper. it should bring double.

Vast quantities of Goods are sold to pay Charges the owner in N.Y.—Boston—Philadelphia and other places getting nothing attall—I veraly believe there is Goods enough here—if they were not perishable to supply the market for the next 3 years and still they come—It is hard times here you may be shure of that & still they all talk big—or those at least who have got other peoples property in their hands

Farming that was so profitable is so completely over done that many Crops will not pay for Securing—Barley—Potatoes—Onions & all kinds of Garden Vegetables—Fair Butter 9c to 15—Lard 10c—Best Hams & Bacon 12c to 15 Flour $6 to $9—This Market is like a Stakey Horse over loded. Urge it and it stops entirely— . . .

I am going up the Country next week to the head of navigation on the Sacramento River with goods—I shall see more of the Country than I have yet—the trip will be [a] pleasant one I hope whether I make any thing by it or not—

. . . I am writing a rambling letter, for in deed I have so little to write that would interest you—Gossip—New Year day was held here the same as in New York—*Will is a "crack up beau"*

A Grand Ball was given by the Society of 1849 Californians. All the Pomp—Bragg & Egotism for which they have so justly been and are celebrated over the world was there assembled. it was feard by some the hall would burst, but by opening the windows and doors in time they excaped—A dashing lady from New Orleans, where she was—or got a divorce from her husband in 1850 to come here & kept a victualing house and Bar room with her Mother—has brought a Suite for breach of promise of Mariaj a gainst a young man laying the damage to her tender heart at Twenty Thousand Dollars—tis the first of the kind in the State—is now on trial & makes much talk & Amusement.

. . . I have seen Will but little of late—Tis the gay season and he is much occupied his business requires he should visit a goodele I suppose—he is well. . . .

. . . .

I[saac] T. Jewett

[P. S.] The invasion of Sonora by the California Pirats[29] is not popular here nor does it Seem to promise success so far as herd from they seam to have killed a few Mexicans driven off some hundreds of Cattle & Horses & are shut up in a small fort

I. T. J.

Letter XIV San Francisco, November 1/53

. . . I received a letter from John Ingraham along with yours, telling me of his going out west and of the great doings in that country. prosperity seems to have cried out "westward ho" and everybody follows. I have no doubt that it is a fine field for the enterprising, as all new countrys are if there are a sufficient number of inhabitants to create a business, countrys may be too new and too old for general prosperity or for speculation movements, those speculation opperations are golden oppottunities for the experienced and the man of segacity, but to the over ambitious and the green ones it is an awful time after it is over tell them all to *sell out* when a good time comes. When a man can quadruple or treble his money he deserves a reverse for wishing more. All flush times will in the course of events turn into dullness and distress as the human body is relaxed after strong excitement, I have never known the rule to fail and I have witnessed three grand eras of speculation in my time and participated in the last one not to my sorrow or loss materially, but regret that I did not possess more shrewdness in buying when cheap and selling when high. I have a large lot of land which in flush times I might have sold for twelve thousand dollars but now it would not bring over four if it would that, so you see I speak from experience—but no I laughed at $12000 I wanted twenty and indifferent at that. I even went so far as to calculate in its being worth 75000 in fine years, that was three years ago.

The rise of property occures by speculation starts which are short periods brilliant and evenescent as meteors followed by long intervals of flatness and depression. . . .

We have had very dull times here for a long while but they are passing gradually away and I think real estate will rise slowly instead of falling much lower, the merchants have had a fine trade for all the year and a rise in lands is sure to follow success in trade—the farmers have been unfortunate in the wheat crops this year from the smut—but the rise in plums will nearly make it up. . . .

. . . .

(To be concluded)

NOTES

1. To the editor's knowledge, the exact date of Jewett's birth is not a matter of record. The only explanation of the initial "S" is that given by Mrs. Helen C. Nelson, who refers to him as William Smith Jewett in "A Case of Confused Identity, Two Jewetts, William and William S.," *Antiques*, XLII (November 1942), 251. In notices in the San Francisco *Alta California*, on his signed pictures, and in his letters, the signature is "William S. Jewett." Occasionally in recent times, the "S," always very much elongated, has been misread as "J."

2. Alice C. Denecker, National Academy of Design, New York, July 21, 1942, to Elliot Evans.

3. No pictures of his New York period other than family portraits are currently known. Ferdinand C. Ewer, in "The Fine Arts," *The Pioneer*, II (August 1854), 112, says that Jewett brought with him to California "an enviable reputation" and a contract to paint a portrait of the governor of New York. No confirmation of this statement has been discovered.

4. See Letter III.

5. Letter LV.

6. Letter LIV.

7. Examples of Jewett's work are owned by the following institutions: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, 5 portraits; Bowers Memorial Museum, Santa Ana, California, 1 portrait; National Academy of Design, New York, self-portrait; California State Capitol, Sacramento, 1 portrait; Sutter's Fort Historical Museum, Sacramento, 2 portraits, 1 landscape. Owned privately or known to be in existence are about 27 others. References to approximately 30 others have been found.

8. See Letter IV.

9. The fires of 1850-51 and the Sacramento flood of 1862 probably destroyed a good many. Numerous others are known to have disappeared in the San Francisco fire of 1906.

10. Letter IV, and Miss Ethelwyn Manning, Frick Art Reference Library, New York, January 22, 1941, to Elliot Evans.

11. Helen C. Nelson, "The Jewetts, William and William S.," *International Studio*, LXXXIII (January 1926), 39-42. This is the first of two articles by Mrs. Nelson on this subject; the second is cited in Note 1 above.

12. However, several valuable references have been recorded through the courtesy

of Miss Mabel L. Gillis and Miss Caroline Wenzel, California State Library, and Miss Dorothy H. Huggins and Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand, California Historical Society.

13. San Francisco *Examiner,* March 30, 1926, p. 10.

14. The letters are owned by Mrs. Charles Janin, of Piedmont, California, and Louis D. Janin, of Berkeley, through whose kind permission they are presented here. Several concerned only with family health and gossip have been entirely omitted. Letter XIII is by Isaac Jewett, a brother who was in California with W. S. Jewett in 1853.

15. Letters I, II, III, and VII.

16. The sermon was probably delivered by the Rev. Flavel S. Mines, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Holy Trinity Church, at the corner of Powell and Jackson Streets. D. O. Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California from 1849 to 1914* (San Francisco [1915]), pp. 7-8.

17. In 1849 Alfred Robinson was San Francisco agent for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, for which Howland and Aspinwall transacted the commercial business. John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route 1848-1869* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), pp. 22, 33.

18. Probably the *Alta California.* The *Pacific News* also had a large circulation.

19. Probably the wife of William Cornell Jewett who arrived in California on May 22, 1849. Society of California Pioneers, *Constitution and By-Laws . . . and List of Members Since Its Organization* (San Francisco, 1912), p. 126.

20. The fire of May 4, 1850, which burned almost three whole blocks between Kearny, Clay, Montgomery and Washington Streets, and Dupont, Montgomery, Washington and Jackson Streets. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 274-75.

21. For an account of the rediscovery of Trinidad and Humboldt Bays and the towns founded on their shores see *The Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo (Humboldt Bay),* edited and published from manuscripts furnished by Clarence E. Pearsall, George D. Murray, A. C. Tibbetts, and Harry L. Neall [San Francisco: College Publishing Company, 1944], 159-70, and Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region, 1850-1875* (Los Angeles: The California State Historical Association, 1929), Chapters III and IV.

22. John Little's Emporium, on the north side of the river, was one of the first business houses in Coloma. Paolo Sioli, comp., *Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County, California* (Oakland, 1883), p. 177.

23. John Woodhouse Audubon, also an artist, the son of John James Audubon, the naturalist, had arrived in California the preceding October and was now returning east. See Jeanne Skinner Van Nostrand, "Audubon's Ill-Fated Western Journey," this *Quarterly,* XXI (December 1942), 289-310.

24. "Lib" was Mrs. Elizabeth Preston, of Dover.

25. Of Baron Steinberger General Sherman says: "He had been a great cattle-dealer in the United States . . . He [bought a] nice lot of cattle from Don Timoteo Murphy, at the Mission of San Rafael, on the north side of the bay . . . Then the baron opened the first regular butcher-shop in San Francisco, on the wharf about the foot of Broadway or Pacific Street . . . and from this small beginning, step by step, he rose in a few months to be one of the richest and most influential men in San Francisco; but in his wild speculations he was at last caught, and became helplessly bankrupt. He followed General Fremont to St. Louis in 1861 . . . but soon afterward died a pauper in one of the hospitals." *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (New York, 1875), I, 68-69.

26. Henry M. Naglee's bank had suspended payment on September 7, 1851, Wells & Co. on October 3. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *op. cit.,* pp. 288, 353.

27. For action taken by the Vigilance Committee see Mary Floyd Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1921).

28. The fire in Sacramento "by which nearly two thousand buildings were destroyed" occurred on November 2 and 3. The San Francisco fire, on November 9, consumed thirty-two buildings. Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-8.

29. This no doubt refers to the expedition of Count Gaston de Raousset Boulbon. See Helen Broughall Metcalf, "The California French Filibusters in Sonora," in this QUARTERLY, XVIII (March 1939), 7-16, and Rufus Kay Wyllys, *The French in Sonora (1850-1854), The Story of French Adventurers from California into Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932), Chaps. V-VIII.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

BAILEY, PAUL

Sam Brannan and the California Mormons. With a foreword by Dr. John A. Widtsoe. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1943. 187 pp., illus., map, plates, plans. $2.00.

BRUFF, JOSEPH GOLDSBOROUGH

Gold Rush; the Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff, Captain, Washington City and California Mining Association, April 2, 1849-July 20, 1851. Edited by Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, with a Foreword by F. W. Hodge. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 2 vols. lxxxviii + 630; viii + [631] + 1404 pp., colored front., many illus., maps, plans, facsimiles. $15.00

With the many drawings, carefully prepared notes, and comprehensive index, Bruff's journals constitute one of the finest and most complete accounts of overland travel to California during gold rush days.

CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS

From Wilderness to Empire, a History of California, 1542–1900. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. vii + 12 + 388 + 14 pp., illus., maps. $4.00.

GOETHE, C. M.

Sierran Cabin from Skyscraper, a Tale of the Sierran Piedmont [San Francisco] 1943. [xiii] + 185 pp., illus.

Contains a chapter on place names and another on Bible-Toter Smith's River (American River).

LAYNE J. GREGG

The Lincoln-Roosevelt League, Its Origin and Accomplishments. Reprinted from The Quarterly of the Historical Society of Southern California, September 1943. 27 pp., frontis.

MCKITTRICK, MYRTLE M.

Vallejo, Son of California. Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort [1944]. [xi] + 377 pp., illus. $3.00.

OTTLEY, ALLAN R., ED.

John A. Sutter, Jr. Statement Regarding Early California Experiences. Edited with a Biography by Allan R. Ottley. Sacramento, California: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1943. xii + 160 + [iii] pp., port.

PEARSALL, CLARENCE E., MURRAY, GEORGE D., and others

The Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo (Humboldt Bay), a Collection of Diaries and Historical Notes Pertaining to the Early Discoveries of the Area Now Known as Humboldt County, California, edited and published from manuscripts furnished by Clarence E. Pearsall, George D. Murray, A. C. Tibbetts and Harry L. Neall. [San Francisco: College Publishing Company, 1943.] [vi] + 190 pp. illus. $2.50.

PIGMAN, WALTER GRIFFITH

The Journal of Walter Griffith Pigman, edited by Ulla Staley Fawks. Mexico, Mo.: Walter G. Staley, 1942. 82 pp., port.

Scott, Reva

San Francisco's Forgotten Jason: Samuel Brannan and the Golden Fleece, a Biography. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. [xi] + 462 pp., illus., end-paper map. $3.75.

Sharpsteen, William Crittenden

History of Legal Aid Society of San Francisco . . . Foreword by J. W. Mailliard, Jr., Attorney's Annual Report for the Year 1943. [San Francisco], 1944. 16 pp.

Shufelt, S.

A Letter from a Gold Miner, Placerville, California, October 1850. With an Introduction by Robert Glass Cleland. San Marino, California: Friends of the Huntington Library, 1944. 28 pp.

Stevenson, Robert Louis

Robert Louis Stevenson's Story of Monterey, The Old Pacific Capital. San Francisco: Colt Press [1944].

Number One of the Series of California Classics. 55 pp., illus. $2.75.

Villard, Henry

The Early History of Transportation in Oregon . . . edited by Oswald Garrison Villard. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1944. v + 99 pp. Cloth $2.00, paper $1.00.

California & Oregon Railroad Company, Alpheus Bull, C. Temple Emmett, Ben Holladay, C. P. Huntington, Oregon & California Railroad Company, steamship companies, etc.

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

Leaflets of Western Botany

Vol. IV, No. 2 (April 1944) contains "The Botanical Collections of Chamisso and Eschscholtz in California," by Alice Eastwood.

Missouri Historical Review

Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (April 1944) contains "Diseases, Drugs, and Doctors on the Oregon-California Trail in the Gold Rush Years," by Georgia Willis Read.

Numismatic Review

Vol. I, No. 3 (December 1943) contains: "New Varieties of Massachusetts and California Company Five Dollar Gold Pieces," by Joseph B. Stack, and "An Abortive Attempt to Establish a Mexican Mint in San Francisco," by A. F. Pradeau. No. 4 (March 1944) contains: "Numismatic Records of the Californian Adventurer Henry Meiggs," by A. F. Pradeau.

Oregon Historical Quarterly

Vol. XLIV, No. 4 (December 1943) contains: "The Wagon Train of 1843–Its Dual Significance," by S. B. L. Penrose; "Oregon Geographic Names: Fifth Supplement," by Lewis A. McArthur.

Society of California Pioneers Publication

For 1943 contains: "San Francisco's First City Directory and Its Two Reprints," by Walter C. Allen.

Westways

Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (January 1944) contains "Gold Rush Cartoonist" [J. Ross Browne], by Peveril Meigs, 3rd. No. 2 (February) contains "Before the Gold Rush," by Guy J. Giffen; "Whimsical Map Makers," by Curtis Zahn; and "Pulling Up the Last Spike," by Frank P. Donovan, Jr., and Philip Horton. No. 3 (March) contains "The Theatre's Bonanza Days," by Elizabeth McFadden Wright. All three issues contain installments of "California Names–A Gazetteer."

News of the Society

Meetings

Mrs. Anne Roller Issler, writer, spoke on "Stevenson and Silverado" at the monthly luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society, in the California Room of the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, on Thursday, March 16. Sixty-five members and guests were present.

The speaker told the story of the sojourn of Robert Louis Stevenson and his bride at an abandoned mine on the flank of Mount St. Helena in the summer of 1880, as recounted in his *Silverado Squatters,* and also in her book, *Stevenson at Silverado.* Besides the Stevensoniana much else was presented, including reference to the pioneer settlers of that region; to other mining towns of Napa County, most of them at quicksilver mines; and to the early-day stage-drivers and highwaymen. The tale of Sam Brannan and his Springs Hotel at Calistoga, built in the sixties, was another associated bit of history retold in interesting manner.

Mrs. Issler referred to the plan to preserve the old Toll House, the site of the bunkhouse and the mine, and other features of the Silverado neighborhood, including some of the fine forest, as part of the California State Park System.

The address by Dr. Donald B. Tresidder, President of Stanford University, at the Society's meeting of Thursday, May 11, proved a star attraction. His subject was "Early History of Stanford University." The meeting was held in the Comstock Room of the Palace Hotel, with 131 members and guests in attendance.

The origin of Stanford University and its early history was traced by Dr. Tresidder. Establishment of the Palo Alto stock farm by Governor Stanford; development of the idea of founding a University for the youth of California and of the country after the death of Leland Stanford, Jr., in 1884, at the age of almost 16 years; selecting the site with Frederick Law Olmsted; the architectural plan; purchase of the Menlo Park estate of Peter Coutts, mysterious Frenchman about whom clung many legends; the endowment; laying of the cornerstone of the University in 1887–these were set forth with many sidelights new to the listeners. The selection of Dr. David Starr Jordan as president was recounted, and several stories revealing his notable characteristics were told. The tribulations of the young institution of learning were described, and the generous and valiant part taken by Mrs. Stanford in surmounting them was stressed. The settlement of litigation, removing the early financial inconveniences, and the resiliency of the University in surviving the destructive earthquake of

April 18, 1906, were "highlights" in the historical account. The remarks by Dr. Tresidder, impressive because of the story of brave Stanford spirit which he told, were charming in their informality, with many shafts of humor and presentation of authentic anecdotes not to be found in books.

AUBREY DRURY

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Alma College	Alma, California	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Beckh, Walter, M.D.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Bliss, Miss Phyllis F.	Menlo Park, Calif.	Membership Committee
Broemmel, George M.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Buckbee, Mrs. Edna Bryan	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Camarillo, Juan R.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Crane, Mrs. Talmadge B.	Los Angeles	Mrs. William A. Wood
*Cutler, Leland W.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Danner, John L.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Drury, Newton B.	Glencoe, Ill.	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Ehmann, E. W.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. William Cavalier
Fearon, Arthur D.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Fisher, Ralph T.	Oakland, Calif.	Mr. R. L. Underhill
Foster, Mrs. Paul	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Fulmer, Charles C., M.D.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Gary, George L.	Oakland, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Gerlough, L. S.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Harvey, J. Downey	San Francisco	Mr. Joe G. Sweet
Herrick, Anson	San Francisco	Mr. William Cavalier
Hinds, Ralph M.	Walnut Creek, Calif.	Mr. Philip Bancroft
Hinkle, George	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Hooker, Mrs. Osgood	Burlingame, Calif.	Membership Committee
Hume, Mrs. William M.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Jennings, Thomas M.	Menlo Park, Calif.	Membership Committee
Keesling, William H.	San Francisco	Mr. Harold L. Zellerbach
Lamson, J. S.	San Francisco	Mr. William Cavalier
Lewis, Charles Lux	San Francisco	Mr. Francis P. Farquhar
Lillick, Ira S.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Nagel, E. M.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn
Read, J. Marion, M.D.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Robb, George A.	San Francisco	Mr. Carl B. Melugin
Sandl, Mrs. Ruth W.	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Stafford, Daniel R.	Redwood City, Calif.	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Universal Pictures, Research Department	Universal City, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Teiser, Miss Ruth	San Francisco	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Weeks, Alanson, M.D.	San Francisco	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Wentworth, Frank W.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mr. William Cavalier
Wittschen, Theodore P.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. William Cavalier

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*Former member, reinstated.

Gifts Received by the Society

March 1–June 1, 1944

We are happy to announce the recent acquisition of a portfolio of J. Lamson's original drawings and journals recording scenes and events during his travels in the California mining districts and in Oregon, from 1852-1862. There are 51 sketches and drawings in the collection and three manuscript journals. We are grateful to the following members who made it possible for us to preserve for California this part of our state's history: Miss Edith W. Allyne, Miss Lucy H. Allyne, Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Mr. Spencer Brush, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Mr. Ralph H. Cross, Sr., Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, Mr. A. I. Esberg, Mr. Stuart N. Greenberg, Mrs. Joseph D. Grant, Mr. Lowell E. Hardy, Mrs. James Jenkins, George D. Lyman, M.D., Miss Frances M. Molera, Miss Else Schilling.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MRS. VIRGINIA ALDRICH BEEDE–*Californians "As We See 'Em," a Volume of Cartoons* [San Francisco, 1906].

From BINFORDS & MORT, PUBLISHERS–McKittrick, Myrtle M., *Vallejo, Son of California*, Portland, Oregon [1944].

From MR. THOMAS P. BROWN–Brown, Thomas P., *Colorful California Names* . . . rev. ed., San Francisco [1939].

From MR. CLARENCE COONAN–*The Quest for Qual-A-Wa-Loo (Humboldt Bay), a Collection of Diaries and Historical Notes Pertaining to the Early Discoveries of . . . Humboldt County, California* [San Francisco, 1943].

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS, SR.–Sharpsteen, W. C., *History of Legal Aid Society* of San Francisco [San Francisco], 1944.

From MR. C. M. GOETHE–Goethe, C. M., *Sierran Cabin . . . from Skyscraper* . . . [Sacramento and San Francisco], 1943.

From HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA–Layne, J. Gregg, *The Lincoln-Roosevelt League* . . . [Los Angeles], 1943.

From MR. FREDERICK E. KEAST–Keast, Frederick E., *Since 1856, a Brief Chronology of H. S. Crocker Co.* . . . [San Francisco, 1944].

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.–Greathead, Mrs. Estelle, comp., *The Story of an Inspiring Past, Historical Sketch of the San Jose State Teachers College from 1862 to 1928*, San Jose, 1928.

From MRS. HANS LISSER–*Anales de la Propagacion de la Fé, Mayo de 1867, No. 232*, Lyon [and] Paris, 1867; Bonnet, Theodore, *The Regenerators, a Study of the Graft Prosecution of San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1911; *A Brief Account of the Lick Observatory of the University of California* . . . 3d ed., Sacramento, 1902, 2 cop.; Burgess, Gelett, *Chant-Royal of California*, San Francisco [1899]; Deakin, Edwin, *The Twenty-One Missions of California, Reproductions from Paintings by Edwin Deakin*, Berkeley, 1899; Dunn, Allan, and Stewart, H. J., *Legends of Yosemite in Song and Story*, Boston, 1910; Garoutte, Eudora, *Study Outline of California History*, Sacramento, 1920; Hubbard, Elbert, *Little Journeys to the Homes of Eminent Orators* [Thomas Starr] *King*, New York, 1903; MacFarland, Grace, *Monterey, Cradle of California's Romance* . . . Monterey, 1914; McRoskey, Racine, *The Missions of California* . . . San Francisco, 1914; *Plates to Alexander de Humboldt's Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, London, 1811; *Report on the Causes of Municipal Corruption in San Francisco . . . Investigations of the Oliver Grand Jury* . . . San Francisco, 1910; [San Diego], *Charter of the City of San Diego Adopted March 16th, 1889* . . . San Diego, 1910; White, Douglas, comp., *Selected Bits of San Francisco Architecture* . . . San Francisco, 1905; Zeigler, Wilbur G., *Story of the Earthquake and Fire*, San Francisco, 1906.

From MR. HUGO L. MENKE–*The San Francisco Block Book, Fourth Edition . . . October, 1906*, San Francisco [1906].

From HON. THOMAS F. PRENDERGAST–Ellery, Nathaniel, *Permanency in Building Construction . . . Vol. 2*, San Francisco [1913].

From HON. JACKSON H. RALSTON–Ralston, Jackson H., *Report . . . Case of the Pious Fund of the Californias . . . at the Hague . . .* Washington, 1902, 2 vols.

From MR. A. PORTER ROBINSON–Publications from the press of John Henry Nash: Addison, Joseph, *The Trial of the Wine-Brewers . . .* S. F., 1930; Carrillo, Carlos Antonio, *Exposition Addressed to the Chamber of Deputies . . . Concerning the . . . Pious Fund*, tr. and ed. by Herbert Ingram Priestley, S. F., 1938; Dobie, Charles Caldwell, *The Crystal Ball* [S. F.], 1937; Forbes, Alexander, *California: a History of Upper and Lower California*, S. F., 1937; Harte, Bret, *The Heathen Chinee . . .* S. F., 1934; Miller, Raup, *Silhouettes on Blue*, S. F., 1937; Prieto, Guillermo, *San Francisco in the Seventies . . .* S. F., 1938; *The Psalms of David . . .* [S. F., 1929]; Saint Bonaventura, *The Life of Saint Francis of Assisi . . .* S. F., 1931; Walker, Franklin, ed., *Prentice Mulford's California Sketches* [S. F.], 1935; Wiltsee, Ernest A., *The Truth About Fremont, an Inquiry*, S. F., 1936; Young, Waldemar, *The Lace of a Thousand Trees and Other Lyrics*, S. F., 1933.

From MISS RAYMONDE ROONEY–*Almanach Franco-Californien du Petit Journal pour 1879*, Quatrième Année, San Francisco, 1879 [bound with] Trény, *La Californie Dévoilée . . .* Paris, 1850.

From UNIVERSITY OF OREGON–Villard, Henry, *The Early History of Transportation in Oregon*, ed. by Oswald Garrison Villard, Eugene, Oregon, 1944.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER–Bruff, J. Goldsborough, *Gold Rush, the Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff, Captain, Washington City and California Mining Association, April 2, 1849-July 20, 1851*, edited by Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, New York; Columbia University Press, 1944, 2 vols.; Goldy, Samuel N., *The Era of California's Supreme Industrial Possibilities*, San Jose, Cal. [1903]; Mosher, Leroy E., *Stephen M. White . . . His Life and His Work . . .* Los Angeles, 1903, 2 vols.; Superior Court of Sonoma County, *Colton vs. Stanford, Argument of Hall McAllister*, 2 vols.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS–[U. S. Geological Survey], *The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of April 18, 1906 . . . Reports . . .* Washington, 1907.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MISS FLORA LOW–[Obituary Committee, Society of California Pioneers] In Memoriam, Frederick Ferdinand Low [1894] (in leather binder with hand-drawn monogram).

From MR. THOMAS W. STREETER and the late ALBERT M. BENDER–San Francisco Town Journal, October 1847-May 1848, kept by the treasurer, William A. Leidesdorff (in leather case).

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. JIM ANTHONY–Lithograph, showing residence and vineyard of R. B. Blowers, Woodland, Cal., E. Bosqui & Co.

From MRS. VIRGINIA ALDRICH BEEDE–Portraits: Virginia Foote Aldrich; Judge Louis Aldrich; Elizabeth Winter Foote; Letitia Aldrich Wildman; Rounceville Wildman; Senator William M. Stewart; and other pictures.

From HON. GEORGE COSGRAVE–Photostatic negative, Map of Oregon and Upper California, by Charles Preuss, 1848 (in 4 sections).

From MISS EDITH M. COULTER–3 maps (photostatic copies): San Diego and Monterey [from Viscaino]; America, 1631, auct. Henrico Hondio.

From MRS. MILTON H. ESBERG—28 individual and group photographs of prominent Californians.

From HON. JOSEPH R. KNOWLAND—Sutter's Mill, Coloma, copy of a daguerreotype taken in the early fifties.

From MRS. HANS LISSER—Panoramic San Francisco, from California Street Hill, 1877, Thomas C. Russell, publisher; and other pictures.

From HON. THOMAS F. PRENDERGAST—Maps: Oakland, 1912; San Francisco, 1913, showing change in block numbers; South San Francisco, 1907, and other gifts.

From MISS ELEANOR ROSSI—2 photographs: Birthplace of Angelo J. Rossi, Volcano, California; Madeline and Angelo Rossi (parents of Angelo J. Rossi).

From MR. STEPHEN J. ROSSI—Folder "193 Views of San Francisco Then and Now," San Francisco [1944].

From MRS. JOHN H. RUSSELL—4 photographs: Isaac Lawrence Requa; Mrs. Isaac L. Requa; Mark Lawrence Requa; Mrs. Mary Horn Mower.

From MR. WALTER A. STARR—Map: Guide to the John Muir trail and the High Sierra region, by Walter A. Starr, Jr., 1944.

From MR. MICHEL D. WEILL—Broadside: Des Millions pour un Sou, Mines d'Or de la Californie (framed).

PERIODICALS

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—*Doings in General,* Vol. IV, No. 7 (July 1928), dedicated to Captain John Barneson.

From MRS. HANS LISSER—Several magazines and many newspaper clippings of articles of California historical interest; Scrapbook of clippings.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. EDWARD O. ALLEN—Epaulets worn by General James Allen in the War with Mexico.

From MR. FREDERICK J. BOWLEN—Badge presented to Battalion Chief Frederick J. Bowlen for meritorious service following the Ewing Field fire, San Francisco, June 5, 1926.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS, SR.—Exhibit case, 42" x 24" x 42" to be used for current exhibits.

From MRS. MILTON H. ESBERG—Menu, Banquet to the President of the United States, San Francisco, 1911, and other items.

From MR. WALTER E. HANSEN—Knife and fork made by Tiffany and Co. for Senator Leland Stanford and burned in the San Francisco fire of 1906.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—2 stock certificates, Santa Clara Valley Mill & Lumber Company, San Jose, Calif., 187—; Stained glass from Stanford Memorial Chapel, shattered by San Francisco earthquake of 1906.

From MRS. JOHN H. RUSSELL—Copies of newspaper articles concerning John W. Shaw.

From MISS INA DRAKE SWEET—Sheet music: "Sing Ho! For the Golden West!," lyrics by Ina Drake Sweet, music by Paul Eriksen.

LOANS

From BANCROFT LIBRARY—Manuscript memoirs of Alfred Robinson; 2 photographs: Alfred Robinson and Mrs. Alfred Robinson (for the recent Robinson exhibit).

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—Map: Abel Stearns ranchos, Los Angeles, with additions by Alfred Robinson.

From MRS. WILLIAM H. VOILES—16 photographs of historic homes of El Dorado County.

In Memoriam

FELTON BROOMALL ASHLEY ELKINS

1889-1944

At the Burlingame Country Club, Burlingame, California, on January 6, 1944, there passed away one of California's outstanding authors and playrights—Felton B. Elkins.

Born on March 23, 1889, at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, he was the son of Katherine Felton and William L. Elkins, Jr., and grandson of William L. Elkins, the traction magnate, of Philadelphia, and Senator Charles N. Felton, of Menlo Park, California. Coming to California at an early age, he grew to manhood among the oaks of the Felton estate at Menlo Park and there wrote and published several books of prose and drama, the best known, perhaps, appearing in 1919 under the title *Three Tremendous Trifles* (New York: Duffield & Co.), and *The Gringos Gamble*, produced at Stanford University. Leaving California, he was educated at Groton and at Harvard University, later traveling twice around the world with the Rev. William Cambridge, pastor of Trinity Church, Menlo Park.

His will directs that his ashes, now reposing at Cypress Lawn Memorial Park, be scattered to the winds from the center of the Golden Gate Bridge, as a beau geste to his grandfather, Senator Felton, who sailed through the Golden Gate in 1849. Felton Elkins left a widow—Anita MacFarlane Elkins and two children—Mrs. Katherine Felton Nicholas and Charles William Felton Elkins.

INEZ MACONDRAY MOORE

CHARLES FREDERICK MICHAELS

1869–1944

The passing of Charles Frederick Michaels on February 20, 1944, after a short illness, took from the Bay region one of its outstanding citizens.

Born in San Francisco on December 22, 1869, Mr. Michaels came of a pioneer family, which like himself played an important role in the upbuilding of the city by the Golden Gate. His father, Henry Michaels, came to the Pacific Coast in the early sixties and soon became associated with a wholesale drug business, then located on Commercial Street between Battery and Front Streets. Later he became manager and a partner, at which time the name of the firm, then styled Bogart, Clark and Langley, was changed to Langley and Michaels. During the early eighties the Michaels family moved to Alameda, and the home established there became a center for gracious hospitality and civic betterment.

Mr. Fred Michaels followed his father's career and entered the business at an early age. As the city and surrounding towns increased in size, so expanded the drug trade under the able management, now assumed by the son. His was a mind quickly alert to new trends and always of a constructive nature. It was in 1928 that the Langley and Michaels Co. merged with the national wholesale firm of McKesson and Robbins. Mr. Michaels later became president of this organization; he spent years of effort in its reorganization and was largely responsible for restoring both the financial solvency and national prestige of the company. This labor and the loss of the son, Frederick, in 1938, just after his graduation from Stanford, did much to impair the stamina of a great man.

On the board of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Michaels served for several years and was for a time its president. He was a member of the Pacific Union and Bohemian clubs, and Menlo Country Club, as well as of the California Historical Society. But his particular interest of recent years was the Menlo Junior College, of which he was the senior director. He found great joy in working with and for the boys, including his own three sons and two grandsons who were graduated from the school.

Great problems were never insurmountable to Mr. Michaels. As Mr. Lowry S. Howard has stated in the school paper: "He had the patience to accept those things which cannot be changed; he had the courage to change those things which should be changed; and above all, he possessed the wisdom to know the difference."

Surviving Mr. Michaels are his wife, Kathryn T. Michaels, residing in the family home at Atherton; two sons: Captain Henry Michaels, U. S. Army Air Corps, and Alan Michaels, of Marysville; a daughter, Mrs. Blake Darling, of Atherton; and three grandchildren, Michael and John Darling and Laurie Michaels.

Those associated with Mr. Michaels found him a true friend and wise counselor. A quiet man of few words which were often accompanied by dry bits of humor and a twinkling eye. His departure can be likened to the passing of an era.

EVELYN CRAIG PATTIANI

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY

1875-1944

Through the death of Dr. Herbert Ingram Priestley on February 9, 1944, historical scholarship lost an outstanding representative, the University of California one of its most distinguished teachers, and Berkeley a much loved citizen.

Born in Michigan on January 2, 1875, Dr. Priestley came to Southern California in early childhood and spent most of his life in this state. After receiving the degrees of Ph.B. and M.A. at the University of Southern California, he was for three years a teacher in the Philippine Islands (1901-1904). Returning to California, he served eight years as teacher, principal, and superintendent in public schools.

From 1912 until his death in 1944, he was connected with the University of California. There he pursued graduate work in History and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. For more than thirty years he was an official of the Bancroft Library, as assistant curator (1912-1920), as librarian since 1920, and as director since 1940. This long and distinguished service made him in the public eye the symbol of that great institution to whose development he contributed greatly. From 1917 he was also a member of the Department of History at the University, as assistant professor of Mexican History (1917-1920), associate professor (1920-1922), and professor since 1923.

In spite of all these heavy duties as librarian and teacher, Dr. Priestley was a prodigious student and a prolific writer, with a wide range of interests. The list of his publications includes volumes on *José de Gálvez* (1916), *The Mexican Nation, A History* (1923), *Some Mexican Problems* (1926), *The Luna Papers* (two volumes, 1928), *The Coming of the White Man* (1929), *Tristán de Luna, Conquistador* (1936), and *France Overseas* (two volumes, 1938-1939). Besides these nine scholarly volumes Dr. Priestley's bibliography contains nearly a hundred monographs and book reviews. The volume on *José de Gálvez* was awarded the Loubat Prize by Columbia University in 1918, and Volume I of the work on *France Overseas* won the Commonwealth Club Gold Medal in 1938.

Dr. Priestley was widely known in this country and abroad. He traveled in Europe, Africa, and Latin America, and was honored by election to membership in many scholarly societies. Possessed of a striking and distinguished physique, he was an impressive character, a born humorist with an amazing vocabulary which in itself was an education for his students. An important historian and teacher and an unforgettable man has gone.

HERBERT E. BOLTON

WILLIAM GEORGE VOLKMANN

1885-1944

William George Volkmann passed away on March 23, 1944, after a very brief illness.

After attending the University of California, he became associated with A. Schilling & Company, and at the time of his death was a general partner in the firm. Additionally, he was a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, a member of the Advisory Committee of the Associated Reciprocal Exchanges, New York, a member of the Spice Grinders Section of the American Spice Trade Association, New York, serving on the Food Law Standards Committee and the Special Committee on Production of Spices, Seeds and Herbs in the Western Hemisphere, and a member of the Spice Industry Advisory Committee of the Packaged Foods Section of the War Production Board, Washington, D. C.

George F. Volkmann, father of William George Volkmann, came to California in 1875, and on September 8, 1881, with August Schilling, founded the firm of A. Schilling & Company, manufacturers of coffee, tea, baking powder, spices and extracts, a business which has continued to grow and prosper under the able management of William G. Volkmann and his associates until now it is one of the largest of its kind in the country.

William George Volkmann's mother was the daughter of William Daegener, the first agent for Wells, Fargo & Co. in Columbia, California, from its inception in 1852 until 1872. In 1855, Mr. Daegener erected the brick building in Columbia which still stands. The ground floor served as the office of the express company where the miners brought their gold to be shipped to the mint, and the second floor was the family residence. It was there that Mrs. George F. Volkmann was born.

Mr. Volkmann was a member of the Bohemian, Pacific-Union, and Claremont Country clubs, as well as the California Historical Society.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Gladys Meek Volkmann; a son, Captain William George Volkmann, Jr., now serving with the armed forces overseas; a daughter, Mrs. Jane Griffin; and three grandchildren. The family home for many years has been 15 Muir Avenue, Piedmont, California.

Library Notes

The generosity of Albert Bender still continues, although it is more than three years since his passing. Several times during recent months the Society's library has been enriched by choice volumes the acquisition of which was made possible by a bequest for such purposes. Recently the Society has acquired a particularly valuable document from San Francisco's early past—the record of the town's financial transactions kept by William A. Leidesdorff, the treasurer—which was a gift from Mr. Bender and Mr. Thomas W. Streeter (whose generous check made up the difference between the auction price of the volume and the amount available from the Bender fund).

May we again remind our readers that, since the Society has no funds for the purchase of additions to our library and gallery, we must depend upon the generosity of our members and friends for such things. In this connection we call attention to a custom in practice in the town of Fairfield, Iowa. There friends and relatives of persons who have died frequently give books to the public and college libraries in memory of the deceased instead of sending flowers to the funeral. A bookplate in a volume, with the name of the person who has died, keeps his memory green long after the flowers have faded. Should anyone wish to make such a memorial gift to the Society's library, our librarian, Mrs. Jeanne Van Nostrand, will be glad to make suggestions. Our library lacks, for instance, Hubert Howe Bancroft's *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth* (8 vols.); Ira B. Cross, *Financing an Empire; History of Banking in California* (4 vols.); and many of the county histories. These books would be most useful to the editorial staff as well as to patrons of the library.

Marginalia

We are pleased to report the addition to our editorial staff of Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, author of *The San Francisco Skyline* (New York, 1939) and granddaughter of Nathaniel Gray, founder of the pioneer San Francisco undertaking firm of N. Gray & Co., which is still in existence. Mrs. Potter was for many years librarian at Mills College.

Several ships launched this spring whose names have California historical significance have come to our attention: the *W. L. Capps* (named for Admiral Washington Lee Capps), at Bethlehem shipyard, Alameda, on February 20; the *Cleveland Forbes* (for the captain of the first steamship to round the Horn to San Francisco), at the Permanente yards, Richmond, on February 26; the *Henry M. Stephens* (for the former member of the University of California faculty), also at Richmond, on March 2; and the *Argonaut* (for the San Francisco weekly celebrating its 67th anniversary), from the Moore Dry Dock Company ways, Oakland, on March 24.

Among the new books written by our members but not listed in the check list are the volume of poems, *Along the Highway of the King*, by Francisca Vallejo McGettigan; the handbook, *Pacific Ocean*, by Professor Eliot G. Mears; and the San Francisco novel, *Flint*, by Charles G. Norris.

A new contributor to the QUARTERLY is Elliot Evans, assistant professor of Fine Arts at the University of Colorado. Dr. Evans received his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1940. Lois Foster (Mrs. DeForest A.) Rodecape is well known to our readers through her articles on Oscar Wilde, Sarah Bernhardt, and Tom Maguire (in Vol. XIX, No. 2; Vol. XX, Nos. 2, 3, and 4; and Vol. XXI, Nos. 1, 2, and 3). And several times we have drawn on the reminiscences of the late Clarence M. Wooster (Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1, 2, and 4, and Vol. XX, No. 2).

Again we are happy to welcome into the Society a long list of new members, among them:

Walter Beckh, M.D., whose paternal grandfather, Gustavus W. Beckh, came around the Horn to San Francisco in 1850 and thereafter held several offices in the municipal government. Dr. Beckh is on the faculty of Stanford School of Medicine and for several years has been engaged in the practice of internal medicine in this city.

Miss Phyllis F. Bliss, whose grandfather, George L. Payne, came from England and in 1888 established Payne's Bolt Works in San Francisco.

George Martin Broemmel, who owns the business founded by his father, J. C. Berthold Broemmel, a pioneer apothecary of San Francisco, in 1876, and Broemmel's Pharmaceuticals. He is a director of the Down Town Association (San Francisco) and was a trustee of the California College of Pharmacy prior to its absorption by the University of California.

Mrs. Edna Bryan Buckbee, who is the author of *Pioneer Days of Angel's Camp* and of *The Saga of Old Tuolumne*, as well as many newspaper and magazine articles on the Mother Lode region. She was born in San Andreas, Calaveras County, the daughter of Joseph Turner and Elvira (Ellis) Bryan. Joe Bryan had come to California with a party of horsemen in 1844, and again, after serving in the Mexican War, in 1848. After mining at Sonora, Tuolumne County, he became a stage driver and later hauled machinery for the famous Sheep Ranch mine.

Juan R. Camarillo, whose great grandfather, Fernando Tico, was given a grant of 17,792 acres of land in the Ojai Valley, by Governor Juan B. Alvarado in 1837. It was on this grant that oil was discovered in Ventura County. A grant in 1845, by Governor Pio Pico, of 29 acres of Mission San Buenaventura associated the family closely with the development of the county. Succeeding generations intermarried with the Peraltas and Ortegas, thus uniting three of the oldest and largest families in early California. Mr. Camarillo's maternal grandfather, William M. O'Shaughnessy, came to California in the eighties, settling first in San Jose and later in San Francisco. Mr. Camarillo himself is an alumnus of Santa Clara University and the University of San Francisco.

Mrs. Talmage Burton Crane (Ethel Hastings), who is the granddaughter of Judge Serranus Clinton Hastings who came to California in 1849 and was appointed first chief justice of the Supreme Court of California. He also served for a time as attorney general of California and founded the Hastings College of the Law, in San Francisco.

Mrs. Marshall Dill (Edna Fay, daughter of Philip Fay), whose paternal grandfather came across the plains in 1847, returned east the next year, and in 1849 brought with him small cherry trees, the nucleus of what is said to be the first cherry orchard on the Pacific Coast and which is still in existence.

Newton Drury, director of the United States National Park Service, the son of the late Wells and Ella Bishop Drury (see this QUARTERLY, XI, 190; XXI, 288; XXII, 91-92) and brother of our secretary and treasurer, Aubrey Drury. While attending the University of California Mr. Drury was president of the Associated Students and after graduation served as an assistant professor and secretary to President Benjamin Ide Wheeler. He was active as secretary of the Save-the-Redwoods League for twenty years and is known for his work in Conservation. In the National Park system are many national historical monuments and battlefield reserves.

Edwin W. Ehmann, a native of Illinois who, after coming to California in 1890, planted a twenty-acre olive orchard in the Sacramento Valley, and later, with his mother, Mrs. Freda Ehmann, evolved a pickling process which practically insured the success of the California olive industry. Mr. Ehmann is president of the Oakland Symphony Orchestra Association and for many years has been chairman of Y.M.C.A. work in seventeen northern California counties. For more than fifteen years he has been in charge of United States duck banding operations at Lake Merritt, Oakland.

Arthur D. Fearon, a member of the faculty of San Francisco College for Women and author of the book, *How to Think* (San Francisco: College Publishing Company, 1944).

*Ralph T. Fisher, who is a native of Oakland, a graduate of the University of California and former member of its Board of Regents and president of its Alumni Association. He is a vice-president of the American Trust Company, and has been director of the California State Department of Institutions, president of the Oakland Civil Service Board and the Board of Port Commissioners, and has served his community and state in various other capacities.

Charles C. Fullmer, M.D., who is chief of the X-ray department of St. Luke's Hospital, San Francisco, and a member of the Board of Directors of the San Francisco County Medical Society. A native of Kansas, he came to California at the age of eleven. His medical degree is from the University of Southern California.

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*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*

George L. Gary, mineral technologist, California State Division of Mines, graduate of the University of Southern California, and president of the San Francisco Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution. His grandparents, George and Jeannette Perrin, came to California on their honeymoon in 1861 and settled in the Sacramento Valley.

L. S. Gerlough, who during his twenty years of teaching at Lowell High School, San Francisco, has developed a course in California history which has brought his pupils to view the exhibits in the Society's rooms at frequent intervals.

John Downey Harvey, son of the late Mrs. Eleanor Downey Martin (see this QUARTERLY, VII, 291-92) and her first husband, Major Walter H. Harvey, California pioneer of 1846. Eleanor Downey, born in Ireland in 1826, came to California in 1854 and died in San Francisco in 1928 at the age of 102.

Anson Herrick, senior partner of Lester Herrick and Herrick, certified public accountants. Mr. Herrick's father, Edwin M. Herrick, came to California in the late seventies, created the Douglas fir export business on the Pacific Coast, and was one of the organizers of the first exporting agency, the Pacific Pine Lumber Company.

Ralph M. Hinds, whose great-grandfather, the Rev. T. W. Hinds, came overland to California with his family in 1850. The great-grandmother died in Nevada while on the way.

George Hinkle, former professor of English at San Francisco State College and now in the U. S. Maritime Service. He is a son-in-law of the late Charles Fayette McGlashan and co-editor of the recent edition of McGlashan's *History of the Donner Party* published by the Stanford University Press.

Joseph Sterry Lamson, San Francisco attorney, who came to California from Michigan in 1887. His great grandfather had a sawmill on San Leandro Creek (in old Redwood Canyon), Alameda County, in the sixties. Mary Atkins, founder of Mills College, was a greataunt of Mr. Lamson; and his wife's grandfather, Rufus C. Berry, crossed the plains to California in the fifties and settled in Bear River Valley below Marysville.

Charles Lux Lewis, secretary of the Board of Trustees of Lux College and grandnephew of Mrs. Charles Lux whose husband founded the Lux School. Mr. Lewis' mother, the former Miranda Wilmarth Sheldon, daughter of Nicholas Sheldon, pioneer of Sonora, Tuolumne County, was named for Mrs. Lux.

J. Marion Read, M.D., who is the author of *A History of the California Academy of Medicine, 1870 to 1930* (San Francisco, 1930). He was secretary-treasurer of the Academy from 1925-29. He is a graduate of the University of California but received his M.D. degree from Stanford University in 1915 and has been on the faculty of Stanford Medical School since 1916. Dr. Read's mother's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver D. Baldwin, came to California via the Isthmus of Panama in the sixties and settled in Sonoma County. His paternal grandfather, Alexander P. Read, came in 1850 and, after trying his hand at mining for a brief period, operated a store at Hangtown (Placerville), but soon returned to Missouri.

C. F. Richards, who is the grandson of Clayton French Richards who came to San Francisco in 1861 via the Isthmus of Panama and opened a drugstore here that same year. Later he became a wholesale druggist, and in 1872, with other prominent San Francisco pharmacists he helped to establish the California College of Pharmacy. He was also a poet and contributor to the *Golden Era*, *Overland Monthly*, and other western periodicals.

George A. Robb, who is not a native Californian but is the grandnephew of John Robb who came to California during the gold rush and, it is said, was murdered after making a lucky strike. Later, his nephew James Robb (George Robb's father), rode horseback to San Francisco from Detroit, Michigan, and vainly searched the Mother Lode country for a trace of his uncle.

Mrs. Ruth N. Sandl, California artist, who comes from a pioneer family of Sonora, Tuolumne County, that owned one of the first marble quarries in the state.

Daniel Stafford, who is the son of James Stafford who as a lad in the British Navy was in the harbor of San Francisco, on the frigate *Amphitrite*, when gold was discovered at Coloma in 1848, although the news did not break until after the ship had left. On returning to England (after being wounded in the Crimean War) he again sailed for America, on the *Flyaway*, and went to the Southern Mines. In 1866 he was called to Redwood City to take charge of the schooner *Lugari*, which had capsized in the harbor, drowning its owner and captain, David Jenkins, James Stafford's brother-in-law. In Redwood City, in 1874, James opened a grocery store, and his family has been in business there ever since, his grandson, Daniel Stafford, being a real estate and insurance agent in that city.

*Alanson Weeks, M.D., who is clinical professor of surgery, University of California Medical School, chief of surgery, St. Luke's Hospital, and consultant in surgery, Children's, Emergency, and other hospitals in San Francisco.

Frank W. Wentworth, a native of Chelsea, Massachusetts, and graduate of Dartmouth College. After coming to California he served as president of F. W. Wentworth Company and vice-president of Remington Rand Company. He is now treasurer and a trustee of Mills College, president of the Board of Directors of Eastbay Municipal Utility District, member of the Board of Directors of Save-the-Redwoods League, and holds various other public offices.

Theodore Peter Wittschen, who is general counsel for the East Bay Municipal Utility District. Although a native of New York, Mr. Wittschen was educated in the Oakland Public Schools and at the University of California. He has been deputy and assistant district attorney of Alameda County, general counsel for Miller & Lux, Inc., and member of the Board of Governors and president of the State Bar of California.

Mr. O. J. Wohlgemuth, one of the owners and vice-president of the Oroweat Baking Company of San Francisco. Although a comparative newcomer in this city, he "became interested in joining the Society because of a love and reverence for historical objects and monuments."

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*For further information see *Who's Who in America.*

A KEEPSAKE FOR MEMBERS

For the members of the California Historical Society our printer, Lawton R. Kennedy, has reproduced in its original tints "San Francisco, Upper California, in 1847," by Victor Prevost, in a folder 11 x 17 inches. A copy will be given to each member who calls at the Society's rooms or sends 15c to cover the cost of mailing.

Alfred Robinson,

*New England Merchant in Mexican California**

By Adele Ogden

COMPANIES and temporary mercantile groups in Boston, and New England firms and merchants in the Hawaiian Islands, traded in California throughout the Mexican period, exchanging manufactured goods for hides and other local produce. Some of the more active companies maintained resident agents on the coast to manage their business. Alfred Robinson, who became the California agent for the Boston firm of Bryant and Sturgis, which was later organized into Bryant, Sturgis, and Company, is typical of this group of American business men who occupied a significant position in Mexican California.

Robinson was of good New England stock. His grandfather, who came to Massachusetts from Scotland, fought in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. His mother was the daughter of a clergyman. Alfred was born in Boston in March 1807, and from boyhood was trained for a business life. When still young he began working for a commercial firm, and by the time he was twenty-one years of age he had made three trips to the West Indies.[1]

It is not surprising that young Robinson was hired by Bryant and Sturgis as the clerk on their vessel, the *Brookline*, outfitted in 1828 for the California hide trade. Eager to see the world, endowed with an inherent sense of responsibility, and gifted with a great fluency of written expression, he was an excellent choice for the position.

The voyage of the *Brookline* was not a pioneer venture. Ever since William Sturgis and John Bryant had become business partners in 1811, they had engaged in the fur trade from the Northwest Coast to China, and some of their vessels had sailed to California to supplement their cargoes of furs. In 1822 and again in 1825, Bryant and Sturgis had been the main promoters and part owners of the *Sachem*, which had been sent to California to collect hides. The *Brookline's* supercargo, William Alden Gale, was an old-timer in the Pacific trade. He had been assistant to the captain of two of the Winship vessels which had poached sea otters and seals along the coast of Spanish California. Apparently, while clubbing seals on the Farralon Islands he had conceived the idea of establishing the hide trade between Boston and California. He had been instrumental in persuading Bryant and Sturgis to outfit the *Sachem* for that purpose,[2] and had been the supercargo on her two voyages for hides.

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*This essay is introductory to documents written by Alfred Robinson which will be printed in this and the next issue of this Quarterly. These documents were given to the California Historical Society by Mr. A. Porter Robinson, and are described in the Quarterly, XXII (September 1943), 283.

Gale served as Robinson's guide and teacher in California. Young Robinson accompanied him everywhere in the course of the *Brookline's* first trips along the coast.[3] Through Gale he met the padres, ranchers, merchants, and military and political leaders of California. From Gale he learned the most effective methods of doing business with Mexican Californians.

Robinson's first month in California passed slowly and dully. He wanted action, but, from February 15, 1829, to March 17, the *Brookline* remained at Monterey pending the receipt of commercial concessions from the governor at San Diego. He met the commander of the presidio and made important contacts with merchants and ranchers in the vicinity. He began his "Journal," and passed some of the time hunting in the near-by lagoons and woods.

After the *Brookline* arrived at San Diego, where Gale hoped to obtain more favorable trading concessions from Governor José María Echeandía, there were few dull moments for anyone connected with the voyage. While the crew erected a storage house and salting vats for hides, Gale, with the young clerk as his keen observer and willing helper, attended to the many details of the business. The newcomer was introduced to what seemed to him the very complicated trappings of a Mexican saddle, and then the two men rode into the town, paid their respects to the governor, and adjusted their accounts with the customs officials. Returning to the ship, they arranged goods on the shelves of the trade-room, and for several days waited on customers, among them Antonio Peyri, the padre of San Luis Rey Mission, who purchased $4,000 of goods.

Gale next proceeded with what was probably the most difficult and important part of the work which had to be done by the supercargo of a vessel in the hide trade; and Robinson went with him. The two men rode northward on horseback to the missions and ranches of the interior, taking orders for goods and contracting for the produce which was to be given in exchange. From April 29 to May 8, when they arrived at San Pedro beach, they were daily in the saddle, and travelled from San Diegó to the missions of San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, and San Fernando. Robinson admits in his "Journal" that "It was rather fatiguing for me." Nevertheless, he observed every detail of the countryside, being especially impressed by the cultivated acreages on mission and ranch lands. Even in his "Journal," in which he records for the most part only facts related to the business of the ship, he enters descriptive passages showing his genuine delight in seeing orchards, vineyards and gardens growing and producing abundantly. He was also impressed by the free hospitality of the mission padres and the sincere cordiality of the ranchers. A Yankee was not accustomed to having a host, without the least thought of pay, give to a passing stranger innumerable courtesies and material comforts – food and lodging, a fresh horse and a guide for his journey, and an ample supply of provisions consisting of perhaps a chicken or two, boiled tongue, a loaf of bread, boiled eggs, a bottle of wine and a bottle of brandy.[4]

When the supercargo and clerk arrived at San Pedro beach, they had to turn at once to the business of the ship. Customers were already waiting for them on board the *Brookline*. Ranchers, *mayordomos* from the missions which they had visited, and individuals from the pueblo of Los Angeles crowded daily into the ship's trade-room. The two Boston merchants aided them in selecting their goods. They kept the launches moving to shore with customers and their purchases, and back to the ship with hides and tallow and more customers. The amount of the sales pleased Gale, who wrote to Cooper, "Goods go faster than I had expected."[5]

The *Brookline* sailed northward to Santa Barbara. There Robinson met several New England merchants who had married Spanish señoritas and had settled in the vicinity, and he was entertained by the De la Guerras into whose family he himself was eventually to marry. He and Gale rode on horseback to the missions of Santa Inéz, La Purísima Concepción, and San Buenaventura. Again they received crowds of buyers in the *Brookline's* trade-room, and wined and dined their best customers before they returned to shore.

After sailing to San Diego with 5,400 hides and some horns and tallow, the *Brookline* proceeded directly to San Francisco. As Robinson rode with Gale on a business trip from Mission Dolores to Mission Santa Clara, he was again impressed with the friendliness and hospitality of the padres and ranchers, and as usual he was an appreciative observer of the terrain–the succession of hills and valleys, the farmhouses and Indian huts surrounded by small gardens, the bay in the distance, and the livestock and cultivated lands of the missions.

Supercargo Gale began to entrust his clerk with special responsibilities. While Gale was transacting business at Mission San José, Robinson rode back to San Francisco, hired the launches of the presidio and mission, and, returning by boat to Santa Clara, managed by himself the transporting of hides from the mission to the ship anchored off Yerba Buena. When the *Brookline* returned to San Diego in late September 1829, he remained in the southern port, at Gale's request, to take charge of a small store fitted up in one part of the Domínguez residence. For three dull months, he sold what goods he could in San Diego, sometimes relieving the general monotony of life by a short hunting trip.

On the *Brookline's* last trip to the north, the main responsibility for managing her trade fell upon the clerk. Another vessel, the *Plant,* had been consigned to Gale, who, furthermore, had been in poor health ever since he had arrived in California.[6] In the San Francisco Bay region, Robinson himself made the business trips to Mission Santa Clara, the pueblo of San José, and Mission San José. When the *Brookline* arrived at Monterey in April 1830, he was sent to Santa Barbara to rent or purchase, if possible, a building suitable for the storage and sale of the remaining goods. Robinson accomplished the round trip on horseback in nine days. Young as he was, the journey was hard on him, for he admitted that he was "completely exhausted," and that "my whole frame seemed as if it had undergone a severe pummelling."[7]

While Gale was stowing the ship in San Diego, Robinson fitted up the store at Santa Barbara. He and Daniel Hill converted a five-room house into combined business and living quarters, which he described as "the best-looking establishment in the place."[8] Then he was notified by Gale that he was not to return to New England on the *Brookline;* he was to remain in Santa Barbara in charge of the store. That was disappointing news.

For over a year, from August 1830, when the *Brookline* left, until November 1831, Robinson, unassisted, worked for the best interests of Bryant and Sturgis, disposing of the unsold goods and collecting produce in exchange. His position from a business standpoint was difficult. He had the left-over, less desirable part of the cargo to sell. The vessel which he expected in the spring of 1831 did not arrive until the following February. Consequently, having no fresh merchandise to offer, he could not collect outstanding debts. Furthermore, orders given to him by distant customers had to be filled at a discount because he had no means of coastal transportation. Bryant and Sturgis' agent took hold of the situation energetically and efficiently. In the course of the year he made two business trips, one to San Diego, and one to San Francisco. By November 1830, when the *Plant* sailed for Boston, he had added 1,000 salted hides to her cargo. In August 1831, he shipped to China 478 sea otter skins which had been obtained in the course of the *Brookline's* trade. By October 29 he had sold $44,000 of goods, having only $9,000 worth left on hand, and had collected 7,000 hides, 354 bags of tallow, 10,000 horns, and a few otter skins. The year's work taught Robinson many valuable lessons, which he communicated to Bryant and Sturgis. He especially warned them not to send "rubbish," because Mexican Californians wanted only good-quality merchandise.[9]

In November 1831, Gale returned in the *California* with a cargo valued in Boston at $79,690. Because the *California* was sent out by Bryant and Sturgis in co-operation with a group of merchants who were not connected with the *Brookline*, Robinson had no direct responsibility for her trade. However, he helped his friend to enter the vessel at a difficult time—in the midst of the Victoria-Echeandía revolution. Both men conferred with Manuel Victoria at Santa Barbara when he was on his way to the south, and were able to obtain favorable terms from him. Both rode to Monterey to enter the cargo.[10] While they were there, news came that Victoria had been defeated. Knowing that they would have to have an understanding with the new group in power, they travelled overland to Los Angeles and San Diego. While at Los Angeles Robinson concluded an excellent business deal with the victors, headed by Juan Bandini and Abel Stearns. The *California* was given the same coastal trading privileges as those promised by Victoria when he was in power, and Robinson in return guaranteed a $1,600 loan to cover the cost of transporting Victoria back to Mexico.[11]

Only a short time after Robinson had returned from the south to Santa Barbara, the long-looked-for vessel arrived which was to help him to close the *Brookline's* accounts. Robinson was very much disappointed that the new arrival was the small brig, the *Plant*, of only 208 tons. He had expected and needed a much larger craft. He already had collected enough produce to fill her. For several months he directed the brig's small crew in stowing her. He also worked hard to dispose of all but $900 of a poorly selected cargo. When the *Plant* left for Boston by way of the Hawaiian Islands on October 31, 1832, she was crammed full with 14,522 salted hides, 15,600 horns, 59 beaver furs, and 316 otter skins.[12]

Robinson still had to collect $10,000 of outstanding debts connected with the *Brookline's* business. He and Gale, who at that time had to manage not only the *California* but the *Roxana*, agreed to the terms by which these vessels were to help in making the *Brookline's* collections. While Gale directed the stowing of the *California* at San Diego, Robinson served as the supercargo of the *Roxana*, remaining with her from November to March 1833, as she sailed south to San Pedro, and north again to San Francisco. In the Bay region, rain slowed down the work of collecting hides.[13]

For some time Robinson had been hoping and planning to return home to Boston on the *California*. A stateroom aboard that ship was fitted up especially for him. Then a few weeks before the vessel was to sail, all his hopes had to be given up. According to his book, *Life in California* (New York, 1846), the reason for the change in plan was that Gale had entreated him to stay because he did not wish to remain alone on the coast with the *Roxana* after the *California* had left.[14] The explanation given to his employers was that he had made such slow progress in concluding the business of the *Brookline* that he had decided not "to incumber Mr. Gale with a load of old debts to collect." He assured Bryant and Sturgis that "no exertion on my part has been wanting," but he explained that at the time when he wrote, March 28, 1833, outstanding debts to the amount of $9,000 had yet to be collected, $1,200 of goods had to be sold, and the tallow obtained in the course of the last two years had to be disposed of in some way.[15] He must have had confidence in the future of the California hide trade, because he asked to have an interest in the next ship which Bryant and Sturgis should send.

In 1833 and the first part of 1834, Robinson cleared up practically all of the remaining accounts of the *Brookline.* From July to September 1833, he accompanied and assisted Gale on the *Roxana.* In September, after a trip to San Pedro, he finally succeeded in shipping to Lima his collections of tallow, totaling 802 bags and weighing 6,728½ arrobas. When the *Roxana* left in September, she had aboard on the *Brookline's* account 200¼ pounds of beaver skins and 1,890 hides. In December Robinson consigned 114 prime otter furs to the representative of Bryant and Sturgis in the Hawaiian Islands who was to arrange for their shipment to China. By March 1834, practically all the debts on the *Brookline's* account, except for that of one person, had been collected.[16]

Robinson obligated himself to manage several Bryant, Sturgis, and Company vessels trading along the California coast from 1834 to 1837. He was especially interested in the 1834 voyage of the *California,* because, in addition to his regular commission, he was given at his own request an interest in the ship. In managing the vessel, he and Gale were favored by her well-assorted cargo, a steady demand for goods, and lack of competition.[17] After Gale returned to Boston on the *California,* Robinson bore the sole responsibility for Bryant, Sturgis, and Company's business on the coast. Having realized that the accounts of the *California* could not be cleared before she left, he had agreed to receive two other vessels, the *Pilgrim* and the *Alert.* The letter in which he stated his terms of accepting the new consignments apparently did not reach Boston until after the ships had sailed.[18]

Everything seemed to make the management of the *Pilgrim* and the *Alert* distasteful and difficult. Robinson had requested that the next vessel bring only a few goods so that he would not have to stay on the coast to dispose of them, and he had asked also for a large amount of specie to enable him to meet the new regulations for paying duties. However, both the *Pilgrim* and the *Alert* had large and excellent cargoes, and neither brought specie. Nevertheless, Robinson kept his promise to receive the next Bryant, Sturgis, and Company's vessels. After a very rough passage to Monterey, he tried in January and February 1835 to raise cash to meet the $16,000 duties on the *Pilgrim's* cargo. He borrowed money, sold some goods at a reduction, and finally persuaded the officials to take merchandise in part payment of the amount which he owed.[19]

Robinson stayed with the brig as she sailed southward until May when he heard of the arrival of the *Alert* at Santa Barbara. Again he labored to scrape together the cash demanded for duties. In explaining his position to his employers, he asserted, "I have been most Confoundedly pushed to collect together sufficient to meet the demands on acct of the *Pilgrim* and *Alert*."[20] Until the end of the year, Robinson remained aboard the *Alert*. According to Richard Henry Dana, the crew disliked "the agent" because he was stern and inconsiderate, pressing them to collect hides in every kind of weather. Consequently, the sailors in transporting him from place to place in the launch on occasion purposefully ducked him in the surf.[21]

In January 1836, Robinson took time out from his business to be married. His wife was the beautiful Ana María de la Guerra, fifteen years of age at the time of her marriage, and daughter of the distinguished and influential José de la Guerra of Santa Barbara. To Dana, Robinson in his "tight, black, swallow-tailed coat just imported from Boston" seemed very stiff, as no doubt he was alongside of Juan Bandini who was dressed for the occasion in white pantaloons, a short jacket of dark, figured silk, white stockings and thin morocco slippers, and who favored the guests at the marriage celebration with exhibitions of his matchless dancing.[22]

Robinson had been married only a few weeks when the *California* arrived at Santa Barbara from Boston. Without delay he turned to the business of entering the cargo at Monterey.[23] He then sailed in her down the coast to San Diego, and there on May 8 he finally saw what he had been longing to see—"the stern of the *Alert* gliding away for the shores of the Atlantic."[24] He was relieved to see her go, but was proud of his work in filling her, writing to his employers, "I can have the flattery to say that I have dispatched the largest cargo ever collected on the coast of California"—39,000 hides, 31,000 horns, 709 pounds of beaver furs, and 9 barrels of olives.[25]

By the late 1830's the management of the hide and tallow trade had become far more difficult than it had been in the previous decade. Competition, especially from the Hawaiian Islands, had greatly increased. Furthermore, a number of internal forces had disturbed the course of business—the government's variable policy in regard to duties, frequent revolutions, though most of the American merchants, including Robinson, tried to stay out of local politics, and, lastly, the secularization movement, resulting in a decrease in the *matanzas*, or slaughterings of cattle, at the missions. Deprived of the steady demand for staples from the padres, merchants had to rely on lay Californians, who were becoming more particular about the quality and type of the goods which they purchased.[26] As Robinson wrote, "We have *Dandies here* as well as at *Home*."[27] He explained that the people wanted to be in style. Consequently, they would willingly buy new and good-quality merchandise when the ship made the first trip down the coast, but, if the same articles were offered again, they were considered out of date.

Personal problems also were making the hide business more difficult for Robinson. After Gale left, he had the trade to himself, and managed it in the way Gale had taught him and as he believed, from experience, it should be handled. Captains and clerks not familiar with California conditions arrived and, apparently ignoring Robinson's directions, proceeded in their own way. Robinson was not the type of man to have his directions ignored. He wrote frankly on the subject to his employers: "People seem to suppose that they have come here to do just as they like and pay as little respect to my desire as they think proper and only to sail about & enjoy themselves wherever it offers."[28] He did not mention derogatorily any names, and openly praised Captain James P. Arther and John H. Everett, clerk. He apparently did not approve of all the business methods of Thomas B. Park, who had been sent as supercargo and assistant agent after Gale had decided not to return to California, and wrote to his employers, "Mr. Park may be an excellent man . . . but . . . I have been alone & used to have things my *own* way & consequently I cannot avoid interfering now & then."[29] That Robinson's authoritative manner and insistence on thoroughness in all business matters did not meet the approval of all persons is clear in a letter of Captain Francis Alexander Thompson, who no doubt was one of those whose methods Robinson disliked. In referring to Robinson and his new assistant, Thompson wrote, "I think there will be fun between him and his Comrad ere long, as it is impossible for a man to put up with some of his would be dignified ways at all times."[30] But the size of Robinson's business, which was larger than that of any other firm in California, indicated that he had won the good will of many of the inhabitants, and his employers had complete confidence in him.

For some time Robinson had been undecided about his own business future. After he received news in 1834 that Bryant, Sturgis, and Company had reduced his commission, he began to doubt the value of spending his time "trudging the coast in search of hides." As conditions and personalities interfered with his work, his dissatisfaction grew. By December 1835, he had decided to receive no future consignments from Boston, although he assured his employers that he would do his utmost to settle all outstanding accounts. Finally, he determined to return to the United States, leaving the agency entirely to Park.[31] On October 8, 1837, he and his wife left on the *California*, bound for Boston by way of the Hawaiian Islands.[32] A note written in Spanish to his father-in-law shows that the parting was not easy—"Anita does not have the heart to say good-by, and I neither, and thinking it would be better to go secretely we did so at night after you had gone to bed."[33]

In Boston Robinson continued to take an interest in the California business of Bryant, Sturgis, and Company. In 1838 he invested in the *California* and the *Monsoon*.[34] In 1839 he agreed to come to California as supercargo of the *Alert*, of which he was part owner. He was given complete authority not only over the business of the *Alert*, but also over that of the *California* and the *Monsoon* which were still on the coast. To Captain William Dane Phelps of the *Alert* Bryant, Sturgis, and Company wrote, ". . . you will consider him as the representative of the owners and follow his instructions at all times in the same manner that you would were we present."[35] Mr. Park, who had not attended to the business as diligently as his employers had expected him to, was explicitly told to follow all instructions given by Robinson in managing all three ships.[36]

Bryant, Sturgis, and Company's sales and collections in California were materially increased after their experienced and energetic agent arrived in Monterey in June 1840. Up and down the coast he went in the *Alert;* sometimes he left her to ride on horseback into the interior or to go in pinnace or cutter to the ranches around San Francisco Bay. The hides which were collected by the *Alert* were transshipped to the other two vessels, thus enabling them to leave for Boston—the *California* in December 1840, and the *Monsoon* in October 1841. Robinson was much helped in his work by young Henry Mellus, who had served as clerk and assistant supercargo on other Bryant, Sturgis, and Company vessels.[37]

In 1842 word was received in California that Bryant, Sturgis, and Company had been dissolved in the previous year. The dissolution was not unexpected, since the senior members of the firm had been doubtful for some time as to whether they would continue in the hide business.[38] However, one of the junior members, Samuel Hooper, joined with two other merchants to form a new business house, William Appleton and Company, which determined to enter into the California hide trade.[39] Knowing that Robinson intended to return to Boston, the company consigned its first vessel, the *Barnstable*, to Mellus. Since the new firm had arranged that the *Alert* should bring home the *Barnstable's* first collections of hides, Robinson helped Mellus to enter the ship when she arrived on July 7, 1842. He then took on board the *Alert* a quantity of the *Barnstable's* goods, for the purpose of selling them as he made his last trip southward to San Diego. To guide William Appleton and Company in its new venture, the two agents together prepared a list of goods suitable for the California trade. Mellus fully credited Robinson for his part in managing the new ship, writing in one of his letters, "Mr. R. has in every instance rendered his assistance."[40] On December 24, 1842, Robinson was waiting in San Diego to take passage to Mexico. He had decided to return to Boston by land rather than by the longer water route.[41]

Although Robinson did not set foot on California soil again until the territory was under the American flag, he continued to have business connections with the coast to the end of the Mexican period. In May 1843, soon after he had returned to Boston, he took out an interest in the voyages of the *Barnstable* and the *Admittance*, the first vessels outfitted by William Appleton and Company. He was part owner of the *Tasso* sent out in 1844. Thereafter, he declined to participate financially in the company's business. However, he was asked for advice about all important matters. Furthermore, until 1848, Robinson purchased in New York, where he had taken up residence, the greater part of the dry goods and fancy articles which the company sent to California. The Boston firm and also Mellus depended altogether on his judgment in selecting merchandise of the colors, qualities, and styles suited to the market. Others, too, commissioned Robinson to shop for them. Thomas Oliver Larkin, newly appointed United States consul in California, in 1844 gave him the task of filling an order for a very elaborate uniform with belt, epaulets, embroidery, and sword "to suit the taste of the people I live among."[42] Mellus expressed wholehearted approval when he learned that his former business associate was assisting William Appleton and Company: "My expectations of success are much strengthened, now that Mr. R. is connected with this business, as his information is much more correct and extensive respecting the wants of Calif^{a} than that of any other person with whom I am acquainted."[43]

Alfred Robinson, as many another New England merchant in Mexican California, functioned as a business and cultural middle-man between the Mexican populace and the people pushing in from the United States. In their business relations, in their social affairs, and through marriage, the Anglo-American and the Spanish-American were associating as one some time before the United States came into possession of the region.

JOURNAL ON THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA

By A. Robinson, on Board of
Ship *Brookline* Year 1829

Monterey Feb. — Sunday at 8 P.M. came to anchor in the Bay of Monterey[44] The Fort bearing NWSW — Point Pinos [blank] and the centre of the Procedio — just before anchoring we were boarded by the custom house boat having put off to know our character and designs. A Mr Ch^s. Rand Smith of Newburyport an assistant to J C Jones Jr Esq. was here with a small portion of the cargo of Sch Washington (now at St Diego) — had been here about three months — would probably return to the Islands in April.[45]

here we received intelligence of the procedings of Ship Franklin Capt Bradshaw — it was the creation of some stir among the Mexicans and probably the cause of the present difficulties in trade — her escape from her enemy was certainly most miraculous. St Diego is (from what I have heard) the battery of California and thought to be an impossibility for any vessel to pass its fort without immediate destruction — however it seems that the Franklin did with the injury of five shot *only* out of *thirty four* — one of which just buried itself on her starboard bow — another went through the main, another through the fore yard and one through the clew of the mizen Topsail — from thence she proceeded to the Islands, and the last accounts stated that she was taking Sandal wood for Canton.[46]

The restrictions of the trade at present is confined to the Ports of this and St. Diego — forbidding our discharging cargo at any other than these — and unless we have the privilege of other Ports our only remedy will be to leave this for some other destination.

The back ground of Monterey is very beautifully constructed of hills and mountains diversified with trees of various denominations presenting a very romantic appearance to the observer — the Woods frequently are possesed of many kinds of wild game. During the summer months are great abundance of Bears and the Tiger.

I found on our arrival a profusion of Geese & Ducks. the Lagoons (Lakes or Ponds) were full of them, but were very shy from the frequency of sportsmen — rabbits are also quite numerous. I have several times been on excursions for amusement in gunning, but never very fortunate.

The woods of California possess many very useful herbs, which are not to be found in other parts – one in particular a specific against Poison – it was discovered by an Indian and in order to shew to his friends the valuability of it consented to be bitten by a rattleSnake on the arm – after remaining in a poisonous state until his limbs and tongue had swollen to almost incredibility – and seemingly ready to expire – took a small quantity of the herb in his mouth chewed it – spitting on his wound and swallowing a little – rubbing that which he had applied to his arm so that in short time he entirely recovered. This Indian also asserts was any Snake of the poisonous kind to bite a leaf of the herb it would cause its death instantaneously.

Another of very useful kind which will heal the most dangerous wound without the collection of matter which so frequently attends a healing by balsam – Another called [blank][47] is excellent in curing a patient suffering with the fever & ague – no matter of how long standing will very shortly convince him of its Superior nature.

These accounts were related by one I could put confidence in – the latter has been proved by Mr Gale his last voyage here,[48] when under the most severe stage of fever & ague, he pronounced it to be sure relief.

March 12th We are still waiting in anxiety for the answer to the petition presented to the general[49] – no doubt but it will be unfavourable – but any answer would be agreeable to me – either to free me from this Spot or to permit some kind of trade – for the days pass extremely dull, there being no kind of amusement to draw ones attention or hospitality to endear one to its inhabitants.

During our being here we have salted down 22 Bullocks making [blank] Barrels overhauled the rice and repacked it & replenished our Water & wood and are now ready for another trip.

Mch. 15th Sunday at noon we received the long wished for answer from the General – in answer to the petition he would admit of our trading at St Babara with the two procedios of this & St Diego – that we must land *all* our cargo at these places without the option of disembarking the unsaleable.[50] Mr Gale judging it not sufficient encouragement to discharge a part or any of our cargo here, has resolved to leave here for St Diego and make one more attempt to do something with G-l.

“ *16* We were visited by the Comandant Don Mariana[51] and Commissary Don Manuel[52] to dine – also by a Brother[53] of Mr G. with several others – With the consent of the Commissary sold about two hundred and thirty Dollars of goods – principally Boots and Shoes at a pretty good profit.

“ *17* At 9 A.M. loosed the Fore Topsail and hoisted the Blue Peter – having a fine Breese from the N & West^{d}. At 11 hove up anchor and stood out for sea.

“ *18* Commencing at noon of the 17th to make that of sea-account Fine weather and light winds. Crew employed stowing the anchor and other necessary work – At 2 P. M. Tacked Ship to the South Point Pinos bearing S by E. At 3.30 Tacked to the N & West the rock off Carmilio bearing S pr Compass. At 6 P.M. the point of Monterey bore SE½S 7 or 8 miles distance – the westernmost land in sight NW – outer point of Carmilio South. . . .[54]

“ *21* . . . At 6 P.M. Point Conception bore E½ S pr Compass– . . .

“ *24th* . . . At 6 P.M. Saw the Island of S^{t} Nicholas bearing (the S.E point) north pr Compass distance 4 Leagues. . . . At 1 A M. Made the Island of S^{t} Clements. . . .

March 25th. Wednesday – Commenced with light airs and pleasant weather – Midnight moderate the Islands in Sight – At meridian the Coronados bore S.E by S pr Compass. Point Loma East ½ N pr Compass.

Lat Obs^{n} 32.40 north

Thursday 26th Commenced with good Breeses and Cloudy – At 2 P.M. hove too off Point Loma (S^{t} Diego) & Mr Gale went up in the boat to the Procedio. Directly wore Ship and stood out for Sea – during the night we lay off & on towards the Land. Meridian point Loma bore N. pr Compass. At 1 P.M. the boat returned with orders from Mr Gale to Capt Locke[55] for to run the Ship into proper anchorage and there to wait further orders.

Therefore every thing was prepared – the cables were ranged the deck – the decks cleared and Ship directed for the harbour – at 2 P.M. Came to anchor in 3¼ fathoms – during the night Came in and anchored close along side the Brig Maria Esther Capt^{n} Holmes.[56]

Friday 27th. – At 10 A m. with the directions of Mr Gale the Ship proceeded for the usual place of anchorage above the Fort – to be as handy as possible for discharging cargo – and came too in 9½ Fathoms – hoisted out the Launch cleared the decks and landed all our Spars.

Saturday until Sunday April 26th – The carpenter employed erecting a house for the acomodation of Hides &c – the crew discharging Lumber &c – Employed settling with the Government for duties. April the 2d we were visited by the Revd Padre Antoine[57] of the Mission of St Luis Rey – fired a Salute of Seven Guns and hoisted the colours – At Dinner we were acompanied by Mr Vermond[58] owner of Maria Esther & Mr Anderson of the Ship Thomas Nowlan[59] (trading on the coast) with Captains Holmes & Barry[60] & several others – the following day made shift to trade with the Padre Antoine to the amt of about $4000 –

The 3d of April the old gentleman left us – We gave him a parting Salute of five Guns and a farewell.

Saturday the 11th. Carpenter making vats for salting Hides. Discharged the Salt and a considerable quantity of Bread.

Monday 27th Employed landing the necessary articles for use of the company to be left in charge of the House, &c.

Those who were appointed names were as follows: –

Joseph Gile. Second Officer
Wm A Holbrook Seaman } under the controul of
John Green do } the officer

Mr Gile has written instructions from his commanding officer in what manner to proceed – and stating to him the great trust which has been placed to his goverment – therefore I think in reason he will be attentive and industrious for the good of the voyage.

After the business of settling for the duties of the cargo was acomplished and having made all the sales that we should probably here Mr G resolved to sail for the Port of St Pedro. Accordingly on the 29th the Ship set Sail for that destination and the following morning I accompanied Mr G. on horseback to perform the journey by land. It was rather fatiguing for me, one so little used to such exertion, but the novelty of the country & the contemplated Satisfaction I should derive by visiting the missions more than counterbalanced the tedious effects of a long journey. The first mission we arrived at was that of St Louis Rey – and the manner in which it is first opened to the view of the traveller strikes him at once with admiration and astonishment.

It is not visible until within half a mile and then at the same time from an elevated situation you have the view of an extensive plain contiguous to this domain — the view is certainly beautiful I do not know *when* I have been more pleased with a natural representation for nearly joining is a spacious Garden filled with the choicest trees blooming as they were with all the abundance of a ripe harvest.

The Mission is the largest and best on the coast and was founded by its present superior, Padre Antonio Peyri — a worthy old gentleman who has long been a director and a reformer among the Indians he received us with a great deal of courtesy and kindness — and shewed us all the hospitality he could afford — the next morning we continued our journey towards the mission of S^t^ Juan where we arrived in five hours — the Padres of this Mission were not so courteous as those at S. Louis appeared — but considering all things we did very well — the establishment is fast falling to decay and the indians very much neglected, having no kind of order or discipline that is to be seen in other Missions[61] — there is standing yet the ruins of an ancient Church which in the year 1812 was thrown down by an Earthquake during the ceremony of devotion and buried the bodies of sixty Indians beneath its fragments. I found here considerable amusement for the short stay among the hospitable people — having for my company a gentleman named Richardson who had been residing here sometime. Saturday morning we started for the Mission of S^t^. Gabriel distance about sixty miles. The director of this, Rev^d^ Padre Sanches[62] was extremely polite and attentive as he is generally — the morning following we attended Church which commenced as early as six A M — Very little of the ceremony was understood and in fact it all apeared to me a kind of dumb shew — never having before visited a Catholic Persuasion[63] — the music was conducted by the Indians which consisted of Drums, flutes & violins —making a noise more to be compared to riotous sett of musicians than for what it was intended for. After Church we walked into the Garden — here we found some fine oranges, Citrons & Limes which were very delicious.

They have here during the season the greatest quantity of fruit of any other mission on the Coast — Grapes in abundance form which they cultivate and turn into wine about 400 Bbls and also Brandy to the capitulation of 200 bbls. every year — the vineyards at this season are really beautiful to behold bearing so plentifully in its small clusters just beginning to form and spreading their branches with such uniformity.

Monday the 5th May – left St Gabriel mission for that of St Fernando where we arrived about sun-set – Padre Fransisco [blank][64] treated us with hospitality such as is generally met with at the missions – rested one night only and departed for the Paublo of Los Angelos. We arrived in about four hours ride – this place consists of about fifty houses and a proportionable number of inhabitants – it has some very pleasant spots and only needs exertion to make it a promising situation – there are some very fine gardens of vines – and several streams of rich water to freshen the earth – it is the best spot for cultivation of any that I have seen – here are two Americans established in business under the firm of Rice & Temple natives of New England and both latterly from the Sandwich Islands[65] – Thursday we left for the beach of St Pedro distce about thirty miles were arrived at noon – We found the Ship here in good order waiting the movements of Mr G. She had a passage of three days and a half from St Diego.

During our remaining here we made trade with the Mission of St Juan to about $2000 to St Fernando $3000 and to individuals rising [blank] Mr Gale resolving to proceed for Sta Barbara prior to our return to Sta Diego begged liberty to store what hides we had traded for in the house belonging to the mission of Sa Gabriel amtg. to about 4000 Hides and some Horns.

Saturday May 6th [*sic*] sailed for Sta Barbara where we arrived the following monday morn and came to anchor at 7 A M. in 6½ fathoms – but at a good distance from the shore – after breakfast went ashore with Mr G and visited the houses of the principal – Here are several Americans and most of them from Boston – Capt Wm. G. Dana[66] who has been a long while this side of the Cape a relative of Capt Davis[67] and had sailed with him a long time – Capt. Robert Elwell[68] – and Daniel Hill[69] – all three are married to California Women and are engaged in mercantile pursuits.

The view of Sta Barbara from the Ship is very pretty representing the houses in a much better sphere than they really are – & the land is truly picturesque – the back Ground you have a view of the lofty Andes – and on the left an elevated point of land which forms a complete valley – The mission is directly back of the Procedio and from this view appears to be but a short distance off.

During the stay here I visited with Mr G the missions of

Sa Ines and Parrisima to the North and Sta Buenaventura of the South. Traded with the Padre of St Ines to about $1909 and to him Sa Buena for all his Hides amounting to about eight hundred –

Wednesday June 3d made sail for the Bay of St Pedro and after a run of about twenty four hours came too in ¼ less 5 fathoms Water – Friday morning we (G & myself) went to the Paublo and Saturday to the mission of Sta Fernando – in the afternoon weighed 500 arobs[70] of Tallow – Sunday morning went to Church which commenced at 4 A M – after which left for the Paublo – Tuesday departed for the beach – the following day receved the Hides and Tallow from the Mission of St Fernando – and also 700 from Sta Gabriel – After embarking all our Hides amountg to 4527 and Hs[71] 3374 and Tallow 97 Bags.

Saturday June 13th Sailed for the Port of St Diego and arrived the following monday. Commenced discharging the Hides &c and clearing out for Smoaking Ship – During our absence we find that Mr Gile has proved to [be] very untrustworthy and in fact a most notorious "*thief.*" In the first place he has been half his time up to the Procedio and neglecting the care of the House – counternancing intruders of the female kind and making no kind of exertion for the benefit of the owners –

In the second place he has broken open the property of Mr Vermond (which had been stored until he should return) and stolen property to a considerable amount – has given away the stores and wasted everything put in his charge –

The Captain put him in irons and Mr G desired that he should be kept in that state until the return of Mr Vermond from Mexico – which probably would be in the month of August[72] –

It being necessary to have someone in charge that we could place confidence in Mr G apointed Mr Arthur[73] for the present with three men to assist in the curing of Hides – the names are as follows –

James Arthur	1st Officer
John Green	Seaman
George Green	
Edwd Kelly	

Friday June 26th At 1.30 made sail and stood out to sea with a light breese from the So Wd. At 9 P.M the Point of St Diego bore nnw pr compass distance 3 or 4 miles –

. . . .

Saturday July 18th Commenced with strong Breeses and pleasant Weather – At 12 A.M. Saw the Islands of Ferelones bearing N E. Distance about 8 or 9 miles – At 2 P.M. We passed the largest and most Southernmost one – The settlement of Russians still was here and we could observe distinctly to the number of ten or twelve persons among the Huts.[74] At 6 P. M. We arrived at the Place of anchorage in the Bay of St Francisco off Yerba Buena in 6½ fathoms Water – This day has been increased to render that of civil account correct –

Sunday July 19th Strong Breeses – At 10 A M the Commandan Don Matinez[75] came on board and dined after which Mr G and myself accompanied him to his house to partake of such entertainment as his house would afford –

Monday July 20th Mr G took a ride out to the mission of Doloroso distance about three miles from the Procedio and was fortunate enough to obtain 100 Hides and 11 Bags of Tallow – This next morning July 21st. We started off in company for the mission of Sta Clara distance about 54 miles where we arrived at 3 P.M. – The Padre Revd Jose [blank][76] received us with a kindness so generally used among this pious Sect – We found a considerable quantity of Hides & Tallow in the mission but unfortunately for us Our cotemporares Anderson, Cote[77] &c had previously contracted for a good part of them – however 600 Hides, 25 Bags of Tallow and 1900 Horns was not indifferently received for our present portion – This with the amount of about $1600 was all the Padre could at this moment negociate for – It being necessary to hire the Launches of the Procidio & Mission of Doloroso & Mr G wishing them to be engaged immediately & prior to the arrival of the Thomas Nowlan,[78] "hourly expected," – I departed the following morning on a return to the Ship. Succeeding in my attempts I embarked on board of the Launch July 23rd and arrived a second time up to the mission of Sta Clara – were I found a line from Mr G stating that he had gone to the Mission of St Jose, and desiring that I should use my best endeavours to dispatch the Boat – I accordingly did – Mr G returned to the mission in good spirits – having engaged 1000 Hides and some tallow with a prospect of negociating for a large quantity of Beaver skins.

Thursday July 30th I returned to the Ship by Land in company with Mr. Welsh[79] – the following morning Mr G &

Don Antono Suñol[80] arrived in the S^t Jose Launch with a full cargo of Hides &c. The remainder of the week we were very busy in settling with the Missions – Among the goods taken by S^t Jose were the 3 remaining Carts – which made considerable room in the Ship

Friday Augst. 15th Received from the Mission S^t Francisco Solano 80 Hides and 6 Bags Tallow – Saturday Mr G left the Ship to perform the journey to Monterey "por tierra" – after which we made all ready to sail and at 2 P M. got underweigh and beat down as far as the Procedio of S^t Francisco and came to anchor for the night – Captain Locke judgeing it not prudent to put to sea at such an hour and on account of the intense fog – the next morning Monday at Day break hove up and stood out to sea during the day we had good breeses & cloudy weather at night we had arrived as far as the Point of S^t. Cruz where coming on thick and breesy weather Wore Ship and stood off under short sail during the night – At 2 A m. Stood in again for the Land & at 10 A M found that we had been set by the Current down opposite Point Pinos – Made all sail and arrived in the Port of Monterey and came to anchor in 9½ fathoms at 3 P M. – Mr G had arrived about half an hour previous to our heaving in sight – A Mexican Schooner[81] and the Brig Dolly[82] from the Sandwich Isles. were lying here & trading – The whole number of Hides we took on board in S^t Francisco amounted to about 2500 – and Tallow 204 Bags – Horns 7913 – Deer Skins 537 & Beaver Skins 1341½ lb Otter Skins 3 – Friday Aug. 28th 1829. During our stay here we have collected a few Hides to the amount of about ten Hundred and fifty and have a considerable quantity due us for goods already sold – In the Spanish Sch^r that arrived here from Mexico a few days previous to our arrival Came a Mr Stearns and a Mr Peck[83] natives of the New England States – they have come out with the idea of settling in the country – having had large grants of Land from the Mexican Government – The afternoon we got underweigh and stood out for sea but the Wind proving very baffling and coming on very foggy We were forced to put back into Monterey –

Saturday morning we hove up anchor @ 10 A M. and made a second attempt to beat out of the Bay – At 12 the Lat made us six miles to the northward of Monterey – This day has but 12 hours and ends at noon –

Sunday Aug. 30, 1829. Commenced with moderate and hazy weather. At 2 P. M. Tacked to the NW at 4 Tacked to the Southward – At 5 to the N.W. again – at 6 P M the Point of Carmello bore South and Point Pinos SE by compass – distance 7 or 8 miles . . .

Monday Aug. 31st 1829. . . . at 5 A M. Set the Steering Sails – at 9 Made the Land of Point Arguello – at meridian Point Conception bore N by W pr Compass, distance 5 or 6 miles. . . .

Tuesday Sept. 1st, 1829. . . . At Day Light made sail and stood for Sta Barbara – We found that a strong Current had set us to the Westward of where we were the night preceding. At Meridian the point of Sta Barbara bore E by N distance 8 or 9 miles – At 3 P M. Came too in 4½ fathoms Water – the mission bearing N.W and the point SW The Brig Dolley and Cutter Sta Barbara[84] were lying here – This day has 36 hours and ends at midnight –

Wednesday Sept. 2, 1829. Employed taking on board Hides and Horns – filling Water &c.

Thursday Sept 3 – Mr G and myself went to the mission of St Buenaventura and the Padre promised to give us all his Hides – returned on Friday morning – but little business to be done here this time – money scarce and no purchasers – the number of Hides received from the Mission Sta Barbara was 382 and 500 Horns and from Sta Buenaventura 353 and from various individuals to the number of 380 & some Horns making in all to the amount of 1115 Hides & 1845 Horns – Sunday 13th Mr G and myself left Sta Barbara in company with Mr Robt. Elwell for the St Pedro – We arrived at the Mission of St Buenaventura at 1 P. M. where we rested until the decline of day and having refreshed ourselves with a little Sleep reasumed our journey on the same Horses – At 11.30 We had reached the Ranche of Simi[85] distance 14 Leagues from the last Mission – During our journey we were lighted by a bright moon rendering travelling less disagreeable and of a more interesting nature than if we had been blessed with a dark & gloomy night – Unfortunately having arrived late and subsequent to the retirement of the inhabitants of this lonely spot we were obliged to take up our quarters on the ground & accordingly we spread as conveniently as possible our saddle gear & Blankets so as to relieve our bones from the dampness of the soil – after a refreshing sleep and the light of day

[The journal ends here. The last few lines are written in pencil.]

NOTES

1. Sketches of the early life of Robinson are as follows: Henry Dwight Barrows, "Alfred Robinson," in Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, IV, Part III (1899), 234-36; the foreword in Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (San Francisco: T. C. Russell, 1925), pp. xv-xvi; and newspaper clippings in the library of California Historical Society. The year of his birth, 1807, may be determined by a passport, issued on December 31, 1839, in which his age is stated as being thirty-two years. Edward Everett, Passport for Alfred Robinson, Boston, December 31, 1839 (original MS, California Historical Society).

2. William Dane Phelps, *Fore and Aft* (Boston, 1871), p. 242.

3. The author's account of Robinson's activities in California from 1829 to 1830 when he was on the *Brookline* is based, unless otherwise indicated, on two sources: Alfred Robinson, "Journal on the Coast of California by A. Robinson, on Board of Ship *Brookline* Year 1829" (original MS, California Historical Society), and Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (San Francisco, 1891). The "Journal" is a very important supplement to the published *Life,* first printed in New York in 1846. In it are recorded not only the author's first impressions of California, but also exact references to time, specific facts about business as related to the ship, and brief descriptions of commercial activities in California ports. The book, on the other hand, contains accounts of business activities on land, and detailed and vivid descriptions of the countryside and customs of the people.

4. Alfred Robinson, "Statement of Recollections" (original, Bancroft Library), pp. 13-14.

5. William Alden Gale to John Rogers Cooper, San Pedro, May 10, 1829, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Documentos para la historia de California, 36 vols. (originals, Bancroft Library), XXIX, 354.

6. Gale frequently mentioned his poor health when he wrote to Cooper: Gale to Cooper, Monterey, March 15, 1829, *ibid.*, No. 331; Gale to Cooper, San Diego, March 28, 1829, *ibid.*, No. 336; Gale to Cooper, San Pedro, May 10, 1829, *ibid.*, No. 354.

7. Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 93, 97.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

9. The principal sources for a study of Robinson's activities in this period are *ibid.*, pp. 102-26; and the following original letters owned by the California Historical Society: Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, Santa Barbara, January 16, 1831; Robinson to Russell & Company, Santa Barbara, July 31, 1831; and Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, Santa Barbara [October 29, 1831].

10. Account Book, Owners of Ship *California* (original, Widener Memorial Library, Harvard University); and Robinson, *Life in California,* pp. 127-29.

11. Abel Stearns to Juan Bandini, Los Angeles, December 28, 1831, Bandini, Documentos para la historia de California, 2 vols. (originals, Bancroft Library), I, 23.

12. Principal sources for a knowledge of this voyage of the *Plant* are Robinson,

Life in California, pp. 128, 134-35, 138; and the following original letters owned by the California Historical Society: Robinson to John Rutter, Santa Barbara, October 26, 1832; and Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, Santa Barbara, October 23, 1832.

13. Materials for a study of Robinson's activities in this period may be found in Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 138, 141, 145-49; and in the following original letters owned by the California Historical Society: Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, Santa Barbara, October 23, 1832; and Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, Santa Barbara [January, 1833].

14. Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 153.

15. Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, Santa Barbara, March 28, 1833 (original, California Historical Society).

16. Important sources for a study of Robinson's activities in 1833 are Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 154-57; and the following original letters owned by the California Historical Society: Robinson to Bryant & Sturgis, Santa Barbara, September 23, 1833; and Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Francisco [March 24-April 21], 1834.

17. Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 163-65; and Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Francisco [March 24-April 21], 1834 (original, California Historical Society).

18. Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, May 5, 1836 (original, California Historical Society).

19. References to Robinson on the *Pilgrim* are in the following: Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years before the Mast* (Boston, 1895), pp. 74-78, 84-85, 109, 158; Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, March [14-27], 1835 (original, California Historical Society); and Juan Daniel Major to Thomas Oliver Larkin, San Pedro, May 3, 1835, Vallejo, Documentos, XXXI, 193.

20. Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, May 5, 1836 (original, California Historical Society).

21. Dana, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 265.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-85.

23. Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, May 5, 1836 (original, California Historical Society).

24. Robinson to Gale [San Diego, May 5, 1836] (original, California Historical Society).

25. Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, May 1, 1836 (original, California Historical Society); and Invoice of the Ship *Alert*, San Diego, May 5, 1836 (original, California Historical Society).

26. References to the difficulties in trading in California are in the following original letters owned by the California Historical Society: Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, May 1, 1836; Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, May 5, 1836; Robinson to Gale [San Diego, May 5, 1836]; Robinson to Gale, San Diego, December 5, 1836; and Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, December 18, 1836.

27. Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, March [14-27], 1835 (original, California Historical Society).

28. Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, May 5, 1836 (original, California Historical Society).

29. *Ibid.*

30. Francis Alexander Thompson to Robinson, San Diego, May 5, 1836 (original, in the collection owned by Mrs. John M. Williamson, Carpinteria).

31. Robinson to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, December 18, 1836 (original, California Historical Society).

32. Alpheus Basil Thompson to his sister, Oahu, November 26, 1837 (original, in the collection owned by Mrs. John M. Williamson, Carpinteria).

33. Robinson to José de la Guerra y Noriega [Santa Barbara, October 1837] (original, California Historical Society).

34. Bryant, Sturgis, & Company to Robinson, Boston, January 18, 1840 (original, in the Bryant, Sturgis, & Company collection, Widener Memorial Library, Harvard University).

35. Bryant, Sturgis, & Company to William Dane Phelps, Boston, January 17, 1840, *ibid.*

36. Bryant, Sturgis, & Company to Thomas B. Park and Henry Mellus, Boston, January 20, 1840, *ibid.*

37. William Dane Phelps, Logbook of the *Alert* (original in the Bryant, Sturgis, & Company collection, Widener Memorial Library, Harvard University), January 21, 1840-November 20, 1842; and Mellus to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, December 6, 1840 (original, in the William Appleton & Company collection, Baker Library, Harvard School of Business Administration).

38. Mellus to Bryant, Sturgis, & Company, San Diego, December 6, 1840, *ibid.*; and Samuel Hooper to Mellus, Boston, October 19, 1841, *ibid.*

39. Hooper to Mellus, Boston, October 19, 1841, *ibid.*

40. Mellus to William Appleton & Company, San Diego, December 24, 1842, *ibid.*

41. Mellus to William Appleton & Company, San Diego, December 24, 1842, *ibid.* Robinson had arrived in San Diego on November 20 "to take passage for Acapulco in the *Catalina*." Phelps, Logbook of the *Alert*, San Diego, November 20, 1842.

42. Larkin to Robinson, Monterey, April 15, 1844 (original, in the William Appleton & Company collection, Baker Library, Harvard School of Business Administration).

43. Mellus to William Appleton & Company, Monterey, April 10, 1844, *ibid.* Other important references to Robinson's part in the business of William Appleton & Company from 1843 to 1848 are in the following original letters in the William Appleton Company collection at Baker Library, Harvard School of Business Administration: William Appleton & Company to Robinson, Boston, May 8, 1842; William Appleton & Company to Mellus, Boston, July 12, 1844; William Appleton & Company to Robinson, Boston, October 2, 1845; Robinson to Hooper, New York, April 27, 1847; and Hooper to William Sturgis, Jr., Boston, October 13, 1847.

44. The *Brookline* arrived on February 16. James O. Locke, "Journal of a Voyage from Boston in the Ship *Brookline*" (original, California Historical Society).

45. The schooner *Washington*, 45 or 52 tons, Alpheus Basil Thompson, captain, was one of the vessels owned by the Boston firm of Marshall & Wildes, which had engaged in the California fur trade since 1821 and which was a competitor of Bryant & Sturgis. John Coffin Jones, Jr., was the agent at the Hawaiian Islands for Marshall & Wildes. Charles Rand Smith remained at Monterey until the *Washington* returned from a trip to southern California and to Acapulco, and arrived back at Honolulu on Otober 24, 1829. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), pp. 87-90; and Charles Rand Smith to Cooper, Honolulu, November 3, 1829, Vallejo, Documentos, XXIX, 457.

46. The ship *Franklin*, 333 tons, John Bradshaw, captain, and Rufus Perkins, supercargo, arrived at San Diego in September 1827, with a mixed cargo shipped by Henry Price of Boston. Governor José María Echeandía in June 1828, accused Bradshaw

of a number of illegal acts, including smuggling along the Lower California coast and touching at Santa Catalina Island, and he ordered him to deposit his cargo in order that it might be examined. On July 16 the *Franklin* cut her cable and, while the captain and crew openly defied the Mexican authorities, ran out of port followed by gunfire from the fort. Echeandía to Agustín Zamorano, San Diego, July 12, 1828, Departmental Records, 14 vols. in 4 (transcripts, Bancroft Library), VI, 66-69; and Echeandía to Zamorano, San Diego, July 23, 1828, *ibid.*, 72-73.

47. In his *Life in California*, p. 27, Robinson calls this herb "canchalagua."

48. William Alden Gale, supercargo of the *Brookline*, had been along the California coast on the *Albatross*, 1810-1811, on the *Clarion*, 1818, and on the *Sachem*, in 1822-1823 and again in 1825-1827.

49. José María Echeandía, Mexican governor of California, who maintained the capital at San Diego.

50. The last part of the sentence, as explained in Robinson's *Life in California*, p. 28, apparently means "without any reimbursement of duties in the event of their reembarkation." This ruling does not appear in the original decree given by Echeandía at San Diego, March 6, 1829, in Departmental Records, VII, 100.

51. José Mariano Estrada commanded the port of Monterey for a time after the suspension of Miguel González in 1828-1829. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco, 1884-1890), II, 608.

52. Manuel Jimeno Casarin was the *comisario*, or administrator in charge of the revenue department, in 1828-1829. *Ibid.*, III, 65.

53. Gale married Marcelina Estudillo. *Ibid.*, p. 751. The "brother" may have been José Joaquín Estudillo.

54. Passages in the "Journal" which describe the weather and the daily routine aboard ship while the *Brookline* was sailing from port to port will be omitted in this published account, since such entries occupy a great deal of space and would probably be of no interest to the general reader.

55. James O. Locke, captain of the *Brookline*.

56. The *María Ester*, Mexican brig owned by Henry Virmond, was engaged in the hide and tallow trade. John Andrew Christian Holmes was captain in 1829-1830.

57. Antonio Peyri founded San Luis Rey in 1798 and managed it until 1831.

58. Henry Virmond, a German merchant at Acapulco, owned a number of vessels engaged in trade from Mexico to South America and to California. Juan Bautista Alvarado, "Historia de California, 1769-1847." 5 vols. (originals, Bancroft Library), II, 110.

59. Stephen Anderson was a member of the English commercial firm of James Goldie at Lima. He served as supercargo of the *Thomas Nowlan* and of other vessels sent by that company to California for hides and tallow. Decree of Echeandía, San Diego, July 17, 1829, Departmental Records, VII, 204.

60. Richard Bary was master of the *Vulture* owned by Virmond. The *Vulture* left San Diego in April and was the ship which took Henry Fitch and Josefa Carrillo to Valparaiso where they were married on July 3, 1829. Virmond to Fitch, San Diego, April 14, 1829, Fitch, Documentos para la historia de California, 1827-1856 (originals, Bancroft Library), No. 11; and Bancroft, *History of California*, III. 142.

61. Robinson's description corresponds to the account of conditions at San Juan Capistrano as given by Bancroft. *Ibid.*, II, 555.

62. José Bernardo Sánchez served at Mission San Gabriel from 1821 to his death, July 15, 1833. *Ibid.*, III, 642.

63. The description of this same church service as given in Robinson's *Life in*

California, published in 1846, is very different from that in the "Journal," which records his first impressions. In his book, written after he had obtained more knowledge about what the missions were doing, he writes concerning the religious services which he attended at San Gabriel, "The imposing ceremony, glittering ornaments, and illuminated walls, were well adapted to captivate the simple mind of the Indian, and I could not but admire the apparent devotion of the multitude, who seemed absorbed, heart and soul, in the scene before them. The solemn music of the mass was well selected, and the Indian voices accorded harmoniously with the flutes and violins that accompanied them." Robinson, *Life in California,* pp. 44-45.

64. Francisco González de Ibarra served at San Fernando from 1820 to 1835. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* IV, 623.

65. George Joseph Rice, native of Massachusetts, came from Honolulu on the *Rover* in 1826. He became naturalized in 1829 and with John Temple entered into retail trade. The partnership was dissolved in 1832. *Ibid.,* V, 693.

66. William Goodwin Dana, a native of Boston, arrived in California in 1826 as captain of the *Waverly.* In 1828 he married Josefa Carrillo, and thereafter he remained in Santa Barbara where he engaged in ranching and trade. *Ibid.,* II, 774.

67. William Heath Davis, Boston merchant, engaged in the sea otter fur trade in the Pacific and to California. He died in 1823. Ogden, *op. cit.,* see index.

68. Robert J. Elwell, native of Massachusetts, who sailed on the vessels of Marshall & Wildes, engaged in the sea otter fur trade to California. He first arrived in 1824 as supercargo of the *Washington.* He married Vicenta Sánchez in 1829 and settled at Santa Barbara where he engaged in trade. *Ibid.,* pp. 152, 171, 172; and Bancroft, *op. cit.,* II, 790.

69. Daniel Antonio Hill arrived in California on the *Rover* in 1823. He married Rafaela Ortega and settled at Santa Barbara where he made his living at carpentry. *Ibid.,* III, 785.

70. An arroba is equivalent to twenty-five pounds.

71. Horns.

72. Virmond did not arrive in California until sometime between December 14, 1829, when he was at Acapulco, and March 1, 1830, when the *María Ester* anchored at Santa Barbara. Virmond to Cooper, Acapulco, December 14, 1829, Vallejo, Documentos, XXIX, 486; and list of arrivals of vessels, Santa Barbara, March 1, 1830, Departmental State Papers, 1821-1846, 20 vols. in 7 (transcripts, Bancroft Library), II, 133.

73. James P. Arther became captain of the Bryant, Sturgis, & Company vessel, the *California,* which was on the coast in 1834-1835, 1836-1837, and 1839-1840.

74. The Farallon Islands were used as a sealing base by the Russians who were employed by Boston captains under contract. After Fort Ross was built, the Russians used the islands for their own base for hunting seals, sea-lions, and sea otters. Ogden, *op. cit.,* pp. 50, 53-55, 57, 59-60.

75. Ignacio Martínez was commander at San Francisco, 1822-1827, and 1828-1832. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* IV, 733.

76. José Viader served at Santa Clara from 1796 to 1833. *Ibid.,* III, 726.

77. Antonio José Cot and Juan Ignacio Mancisidor were consignees of the firm of James Goldie at Lima. In 1829 they were purchasing and selling for the *Funchal* and for the *Thomas Nowlan,* of which Stephen Anderson was supercargo. Echeandía to the Minister of War, San Diego, December 6, 1828, Departmental Records, VI, 50; and Decree of Echeandía, San Diego, July 17, 1829, *ibid.,* VII, 204. *See also* note 59.

78. The *Thomas Nowlan,* John Wilson, master, was owned by the firm of James

Goldie of Lima. The vessel had been trading on the coast for hides and tallow, and on June 16 was anchored at Santa Barbara. Logbook of the *Waverly* (original, Bancroft Library), Santa Barbara, June 16, 1829. See also notes 59, 77.

79. Probably William Welsh.

80. Antonio María Suñol served as postmaster at San José in 1829. Bancroft, *op cit.*, II, 605.

81. The Schooner *Dorotea* had been purchased at San Blas in May 1829, by José de la Guerra y Noriega. José de la Guerra y Noriega, Documentos para la historia de California, 7 vols. (transcripts, Bancroft Library), VI, 1; and Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 73.

82. The Brig *Dhualle*, 182 tons, came to California from the Hawaiian Islands for horses and sea otter skins. Richard Charlton to William Hartnell, Oahu, July 2, 1829, Vallejo, Documentos, XXIX, 373; and William Warden to John Rogers Cooper, Santa Barbara, October 2, 1829, *ibid.*, No. 430.

83. Abel Stearns and Sherman Peck arrived at Monterey in July 1829 on the Schooner *Dorotea*. Alfred Robinson, "Jose Antonio de la Guerra," in Oscar T. Shuck, ed., *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1870), p. 24. See also note 81.

84. For "Dolley" see note 82. The *Santa Barbara*, 36 tons, was owned by William Goodwin Dana and Carlos Antonio Carrillo, and was used in coastal trade. Echeandía to Romualdo Pacheco, San Diego, May 9, 1829, Departmental Records, VII, 155; and Echeandía, Provisional passport, San Diego, August 12, 1829, *ibid.*, 215-16.

85. Rancho San José de Gracia y Simí was granted in 1821 to Patricio, Javier, and Miguel Pico. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 566.

Memorial of Pedro Calderón y Henríquez

Recommending Monterey as a Port for the Philippine Galleons With a View to Preventing Russian Encroachment in California

Translation, Introduction and Notes by Henry R. Wagner

INTRODUCTION

THE administration of the custom house in Acapulco in the middle of the eighteenth century appears to have been of the most corrupt character. José de Gálvez, the *visitador,* made an investigation of it and arrested some of the royal officials. Sometime in December 1766, new regulations were issued to assist in the dispatch of goods at Acapulco on the forthcoming arrival of the Manila galleon. The galleon was the *San Carlos Borromeo* referred to in the memorial of Calderón y Henríquez. Apparently, not only more effective vigilance was to be used in the unloading and evaluation of the goods, but also some additional duties were authorized, probably the same as those put into effect in Vera Cruz at the same time. These were far from excessive, but the trade was already overburdened with fiscal exaction and the high rate of interest and insurance.

The government in Spain did not need any information about the movements of the Russians. From their ambassador in Russia they had already received information on the subject, and besides, the printed work which Calderón said he had seen no doubt was available and probably had been available to them for a long time. The account of Captain Vitus Bering's polar expedition was published in the third volume of Gerhard Friedrich Müller's *Sammlung Russischer Geshichte* (St. Petersburg, 1758). This work was issued in English by Thomas Jefferys, in London in 1761; and, translated from the original German into French, it was published in Amsterdam, in two volumes, in 1766. Georg Wilhelm Steller, a German scientist, accompanied the second expedition of Bering and is generally supposed to have been the author of the account published by Müller. He was on the *St. Paul* with Alexei Chirikof, the man who discovered the Northwest Coast. Bering, himself, apparently saw and named only Mount St. Elias. Several maps of the expedition had been published by 1768, one having been issued in St. Petersburg in 1758. This map was copied by Jefferys in his book in 1761, and Jacques Bellin also copied it in his *Carte Reduite* of 1766. Even earlier, in 1750, an account of these discoveries had been published by Joseph Nicolas Delisle, in Paris.

The sketch map which Calderón attached to his memorial is a unique performance, a real cartographical curiosity. It will be noticed that on the map the route of the galleon is shown as passing through the middle of the Mariana Islands to the port of Monterey. If this was the route at that time it had been much changed from the earlier days. This is questionable, however, especially as Calderón says that the pilots on that course were still using the map made by a Carmelite friar who had accompanied Sebastián Vizcaino. Probably Calderón merely indicated on the map the route that he himself proposed should be used. The friar was Antonio de la Ascensión, and the map which he made seems to have been a combination product of himself and Francisco de Bolaños, the chief pilot of the Vizcaino expedition. It was usually known as the Bolaños *derrotero.* Calderón, with more accuracy than usually attained by Spanish writers, recounts the efforts to have Monterey settled as a port after the Vizcaino expedition.

The Philippines, when Calderón left them, probably in 1766 or 1767, were in a parlous state. Manila had been captured in 1762 by the English, who exacted a tremendous ransom from the city. This must have interfered seriously with commerce, and it is no wonder that Calderón talked about losing the Islands. Roda y Arrieta, to whom the communication was addressed, was a member of the Council of the Indies, probably the president at the time.

It is a somewhat academic question whether Calderón's memorial had any effect in promoting the occupation of Upper California by the Spaniards in 1769. The memorial is dated April 14, and already on January 23 an order had been dispatched to the Marqués de Croix, the viceroy in New Spain, to direct the government of [Lower] California to be on the watch for Russian attempts to found settlements on the coast. It was in May that Gálvez announced to the viceroy that he had decided on an expedition to establish a presidio at Monterey. Apparently the Spaniards were acting on information received before Calderón presented his memorial. I still maintain the opinion that the occupation of Monterey was due not so much to the Russian advance as to the fear of English entrance into the South Sea. Even Calderón, who makes no mention of English efforts in this direction, evidently dreaded the colonial ambitions of England.

The statistical account appended by Calderón is omitted as it is mainly another statement of what is contained in the body of the memorial.

Calderón, during his term of office in the Philippines, had made several reports of considerable interest. In 1741 he had urged the occupation of Monterey and in 1750 the abandonment of Guam. He also urged the resumption of direct trade between Spain and the Islands. The first ship from Cadiz arrived in October 1766. The *San Carlos* to which he refers in his memorial took goods shipped by the Augustinians. Speaking of the system under which the Manila trade was then carried on, Calderón referred to the difficult regulations and the impossibility of complying with them. The literal observance of them was impossible, and the viceroy frequently tacitly or openly permitted shipments of silver to the Philippines in excess of the legal quantity.

The manuscript of Calderón translated here is among the documents presented to the California Historical Society a few years ago by Mr. Templeton Crocker. He had purchased it from Maggs Brothers, of London, in whose catalogue, *Bibliotheca Americana* (No. 1), 1922, it appeared as No. 851.

THE MEMORIAL

Most Illustrious Sir:

Lest I be classed among those particularly devoted to the Philippine Islands, I did not dwell on the unhappy state in which I left them, and in which they still continue, until the news came about what happened in Acapulco to the frigate *San Carlos*—the lack of a fair,[1] with consequent loss by reason of confiscation, and the blows which have entirely ruined that commerce and cut off the flow and continuity of business.[2] For this reason I have decided to set forth the urgent necessity of arranging this trade on some possible footing and under such reasonable regulations as the Islands themselves have previously requested. As proof of this necessity and the practical impossibility of continuing under the latest regulations, I accompany this with a supplementary document. At the same time I propose other cases deserving immediate remedy so that the existing state [of trade] will not completely come to an end.

As I know practically how important it is to keep those dominions and how much I can contribute to that end, I am taking the liberty of molesting your attention so that you will consider seriously the points which I touch upon in the aforesaid representation and deign to cooperate by looking at them with the attentive consideration that disorders of such gravity and business of such importance demand.

Among the points which I present I include information about the discovery of the Russians which I obtained in Manila and from the diary of Captain Bering, who in 1728 [1725] was dispatched by Count Apraxin, admiral of Russia, with sailors and instructions to traverse Siberia and to take there the necessary tools to build a frigate in Kamchatka, a port of theirs in the South Sea of Tartary, in order to make discoveries in Spanish America. Following the coast of Tartary, although he reached 67½° of latitude, he returned without proceeding further. In 1741, Mr. Steller, an academician of St. Petersburg, was dispatched to continue the discovery. A statement was printed in the *Gazette* of 1743 that he had explored the coast of America above California and had observed that with a short land portage one could go through to the sea which extended to Europe.

Since, however, I made that representation, a work translated from Russian into French, printed in Paris last year in two octavo volumes, has reached my hands. This treats of all these discoveries and has a map displaying them which I have sketched on the accompanying paper, to which I have added the relation of the islands [Aleutians] to the Philippines and the course of the galleons from them, so that you may better understand it all and the dangers which menace all America if they [the Russians] come to fortify and settle a port in California. This they will do without doubt because they believe that the territory from 52° to 60° which they explored is more fertile than that of Tartary and very well forested, from which they draw the conclusion that it is likely to be mineral producing.[3] What I have understood is that they were assisted by the English in their efforts to determine whether in these parts a passage to Hudson's Bay or some navigable river could be found on which to settle.[4] If they sail down, as they will, to 44° on the same coast, they will find a very copious river which discharges the *Porras*, which are like very long reeds with a bulb at the end and which are looked for all along that coast and serve the *galeon de Balisa* as an indication of the proximity of land.[5] By this river they can have access to New Mexico or the lakes along the course of the St. Lawrence River, both of which are of the greatest importance.

It will be perceived that they proceed with great caution, as this map does not show the coast of America, although the book describes its qualities and its inhabitants, who, it says, have the same appearance and customs as the Tartars, and states that it is not more than two and a half degrees, that is, twenty-five leagues, from the last of the Kuril Islands.[6] From Kamchatka it is distant thirty-seven degrees of longitude, or, taking ten leagues as one degree, 370 leagues. The implication of this is obvious.

In order to forestall the dangers which threaten, it is necessary that remedy be applied from the Philippines, because it is almost impossible to do so from Mexico as the viceroy has no ship on the whole extent of the coast under his government. Those who explored the coast from Acapulco to Cape Mendocino in 41° in 1602 said that they had sailed more than eight hundred leagues, and although this is the noblest part of America it was entirely deserted. The exploration took place by order of the Conde de Monte Rey, at that time viceroy, with two frigates and a long boat, and with a Carmelite as cosmographer,[7] with the commission to examine closely the whole coast and look for a port appropriate for stops of the Philippine galleons. They declared that the one named Monte Rey in 37° fulfilled the conditions, as it was easy of entrance and exit, there was a river of good water and a pine forest more than two leagues in extent near by, and many very tractable people well clothed in seal skins there. These affirmed that inland there were many large towns and indicated by signs that there was much gold and silver. In view of this account a *cédula* was dispatched in 1606 ordering this port to be settled without regard to the cost to the royal treasury. This *cédula* found the Marqués de Montesclaros as viceroy, and he declared that it would be more advantageous to discover the Isla Rica de Plata in the middle of the ocean, which no one has seen up to the present time. Although later, in 1608 and 1609, *cédulas* to the same effect were issued, nothing has been done about it.[8] The survey of the coast of California made by the Carmelite has been found so exact by the pilots of the Philippines that they have had no hesitancy in using it when they have found it necessary to approach land.[9]

From the Philippines three hundred men of all trades can be conveyed on a frigate which can be built there, or bought at slight cost, with all the nails, locks, tools, and everything necessary to found a town at once, and with twenty-five Indians from the shipyard at Cavite to build brigantines such as those they build there for commerce with the islands and voyages to China and Java, with the suitable artillery, rigging, cables, sails, pitch, and everything else necessary for their provision, muskets, powder, balls, and other necessaries. What cannot be found in the Islands can be brought from China and Batavia. With some soldiers and missionaries a great spiritual and temporal conquest can be effected.

If another presidio is established on the Colorado River at the end of the Gulf of California, one can easily cross the land as set forth in a *cédula* of 1745.[10] From the port [Monterey] it will be easy, with two brigantines, to take possession of the coast up to 52° and thus prevent the Russians from moving farther south. Besides, the port would serve as a stop for the galleons from the Philippines. From there they take forty days to reach Acapulco. During that voyage the deaths and sicknesses occur that are recorded in forty logs which I have examined. With such a port the population would be notably increased and it would be the principal basis for reducing the settlements of people who live around it [to Christianity]. The rivers begin there, while on the other hand the whole point or sharp triangle of California from Cabo de San Lucas in 23° to the end of the gulf in 33° has no rivers. For this reason it is considered to be thinly populated although rich in metals.

These presidios and settlements can be established without more expense to the royal treasury than what will be necessary at the beginning.

For their preservation, administration and garrison I will propose a scheme without cost to the royal treasury or to the public. Likewise I will propose a plan for the development of the Philippines and the cultivation of the cinnamon[11] in the forest more than thirty leagues long on Mindanao, and I will write out my method. But the first and most pressing thing is the regulation of the commerce which has to serve as the basis for everything, for without that nothing can be effected nor can these islands be sustained.

If what is set forth above is worthy of attention and it should be deemed advisable for me to formulate a plan divided into topics showing those most noteworthy and in need of prompt remedy in order to prevent the loss of the Philippines, and likewise those which relate to California, I will do so. I will spare no labor and will put after everything injurious the corresponding remedy, provided the secretaries and accounting offices of the Indies aid me by furnishing the information and papers which I indicate. With an account of what I saw and experienced in the twenty-five years that I was judge in that *audiencia*, and the twelve years that I served as senior adviser of war and judge of accounts of the royal officials, I will do this, as it is advisable for me to give authentic proofs of my proposals. After these are examined and all have been duly considered, what is most advisable can intelligently be discarded, changed, or added.

I also will propose the method I consider advisable to open direct commerce by way of the Cape of Good Hope with somewhat more profit than the merchants of Cadiz at present are experiencing, noting that the vessel arrives in Manila in August and leaves in January. I further note that in the Islands there is nothing with which to load her, for sugar, indigo in jars in the form of mud, sugar wood, or campeche wood are bulky goods which do not pay on long voyages and have a better market in India itself. To take goods from China and the Gulf of Bengal means a delay of a year. As commerce in Manila is quiescent, 20% premium is charged on money, 10% on the freight of heavy clothing and 6% on the fine kind, or 8% on the average, plus 5% commission – a total of 33%. The shipper, besides, has to make something, and although the profit be only 10%, the total amounts to 43%. To this must be added the fact that from Cadiz to Manila accounts are not settled in cash for less than a 40% premium. The English charge only 18% for China, as I found in the English frigate on which I came. The result is that the Cadiz merchants bring Chinese clothing at 65% higher cost than the English. Note that with the good methods the English employ in the trade, the English captain assured me that only six frigates of forty guns each which return from China each year pay in duties at the London custom house more than two million pesos, of which I have an itemized account.

May God preserve you for many years. Madrid, April 14, 1768.

Most Illustrious Sir
Your most submissive and obliged servant
kisses your hands.
Pedro Calderón y Henríquez

Illustrious Señor D. Manuel de Roda y Arrieta

NOTES

1. The galleons usually sold their cargoes at meetings of sellers and buyers called *ferias,* or fairs, at Acapulco.

2. The *San Carlos Borromeo* arrived at Acapulco early in 1767, just in time to run into the new regulations established by the visitador, José de Gálvez. More rigorous control, confiscations for violation of the regulations, and new duties were imposed.

3. Chirikof, in command of the *St. Paul,* reached the coast at about 55½° of latitude, near Chatham Entrance. He sailed north to about 60° and then west. Bering, himself, in the *St. Peter,* got no farther west than Kayak Island from where he saw Mount St. Elias.

4. I do not believe there is any evidence that the English assisted the Russians in this enterprise.

5. The *Porras,* really kelp, together with floating weeds, indicated that land was near. The river was the Santa Inez of the Vizcaino expedition, which I identified in my *Spanish Voyages* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929), pp. 255, 407, as Mad River which then flowed into Humboldt Bay. The Santa Inez was supposed to be in about 43°. A *Balisa* or *Valiza* was a buoy or beacon to mark a port.

6. By the last of the Kuriles probably Unalaska or the Shumagin Group was meant. Unalaska lies in 166½° W. longitude, and Chatham Sound in 133°, or a difference of some thirty-three degrees of longitude.

7. Fr. Antonio de la Ascensión, whose account was published in my *Spanish Voyages* (Chapter XI) from the original diary in the Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

8. See my *Spanish Voyages* (Chapter XII) for a full account of these proceedings.

9. The map, of course, was the one usually called the Bolaños *derrotero.*

10. Probably Calderón means the *cédula* of December 4, 1747, by which a presidio was to be established on the Gila River as a basis for entry into California overland.

11. Cinnamon, or *Canela* as the Spaniards called it, was one of the earliest exports from the Islands. It may have been cassia and not true cinnamon.

A Gold Rush Document

AMONG THE papers of the Throop family, of Schoharie, New York, recently purchased by the New York State Library, is the following interesting document which has been called to our attention by the State Librarian, Mr. R. W. G. Vail:

Whereas, I Benjamin T. Eggleston propose to go to the gold diggins in California for the purpose of procuring gold:

And whereas Orson Root has advanced to me the sum of [*one hundred* crossed out] fifty dollars, Origen B. Throop the sum of fifty dollars, Gideon Shafer the sum of fifty dollars, Stephen Mahan the sum of fifty dollars, David Dietz the sum of fifty dollars, Rice Orcutt the sum of fifty dollars and Charles Goodyear the sum of fifty dollars and Warren S. Gates the sum of fifty dollars (for the purpose of enabeling me to pay my passage and bear my expences in going to and while in California for the purpose aforesaid) the receipt of which said several sums is hereby acknowledged –

Now therefore in consideration of the said sums of money so advanced to me I do agree that I will proceed to the gold diggins in California with due speed, that I will labor faithfully in procuring all the gold in my power during the space of two years from the time I arrive there, that in case the government establishes an agency in California, I agree, in case it is practicable, to deposit with said government agency the gold I shall from time to time collect and take his scrip a receipt therefor, payable to the order of Origen B. Throop, and transmit said scrips or receipts to the said Origen B. Throop – That all the gold so collected within the said two years, after deducting all my necessary expences, is to be divided as follows – The one half to be retained by myself – and the other half to be equally divided between the said Orson Root, Origen B. Throop, Gideon Shafer, Stephen Mahan, David Dietz, Rice Orcutt, Charles Goodyear and Warren S. Gates, their heirs and assigns.

Witness my hand and seal this 29th day of January 1849.

[Signed] BENJAMIN T. EGGLESTON [Seal]

Witness
John Gebhard Jr.

Eggleston apparently sailed from New York on the Brig *Sarah* that left for Chagres on February 14, 1849, for the passenger list of that vessel includes a "B. Egleston."[1]

From records in California we learn that Benjamin Thomas Eggleston (or Egglestone[2]) was born in Herkimer County, New York, in 1824, and that he reached San Francisco in September 1849. During that winter he mined at Mormon Island, and in April 1850 went to Downieville, where he was still living in 1882 in an "elegant home on Jersey Flat." In 1871 he located the Mowry and Eggleston Mine on Craycroft Hill.[3]

On the back of the document in the New York State Library is the following notation in pencil, in another handwriting: "Eggleston died in the Summer of 1884 in California – comparatively poor."

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[1] New York *Weekly Herald*, February 24, 1849, and C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* (New York, 1890), p. 426.

[2] *Sierra County Great Register for 1880.*

[3] *History of Plumas, Lassen, and Sierra Counties* (San Francisco: Farris & Smith, 1882), p. 488.

Some Letters of William S. Jewett, California Artist

Edited by ELLIOT EVANS

(Concluded)

Letter XVI Sacramento April 14" 1855

. . . .

I am up here at the Capital of the State to dispose of a full length portrait of Capt Sutter to the State, it is a fine picture and it is proposed I get $2500 for it, it has just passed one branch of the legislature by two votes in favor to one against it so I am in hopes it will pass the other but I am afraid it will not–I send you the papers giving some account of it–It is thought to be by many the best picture and likeness they ever saw and *all* think it faultless – the newspapers mention it in all parts of the state as Sutter is strongly enlisted to the sympathies of the people– I find it very tedious waiting on the movements of the Legislature but hope to get thro this week.[30]

. . . .

Letter XVII San Francisco, Sept. 5th 1855.

. . . .

Ike is floundering along in all sorts of fortunes but good ones save in the fact that he has lost nothing consequently is much better off than those who have lost their all in the world–he can sit now and cooly phylosophise upon the vainty of human wishes. . . .

. . . .

I want when you write to send me . . . receits for making three or four sorts of your delightful biscuits, short cake and c. the housekeepers out here seem to have come from the know nothing end of creation not one of them know the first principles of domestik comfort, send a receipt for bread also and pie crust, altho I am boarding at an hotel these will ad greatly to my comfort by distributing them among my friends where I have to eat more than half my time.

Would you like to see my daguerreotype to see how old I shall look to you, I wonder if you all have grown old as fast. . . .

Letter XX San Francisco, Jan 7, 1860.

. . . I have been up to Sacramento for the past three weeks some of the citizens sent down to me to come up and paint their portraits but I am not through yet and am going to return again tomorrow, it is up a river about as Albany is to New York, they give me a cheerful welcome and pay well.

But money makeing is no inducement for me to stay away from you all and nothing keeps me but the desire to arrange my affairs here, so that I can return to you and live in *peace and pleanty*, for an *independent* relative is always happier among his friends than if he had to fret about his wherewithal — I am negotiating for a piece of property which suits me exactly, yielding over two hundred pr month and I hope I shall get it . . . but I hear I shall not get it and it is so hard to buy anything in San Francisco—yet all this time I am getting two per cent for my money — but that does not help me towards seeing my mother which at present is my great desire. In your last you stated that mother's money was not paying anything in the railroad stock I regret you did not send it out to me long ago as I could have doubled it nearly by this time — and I think you had best sell out the stock and send it out to me to invest in Cala state stock, drawing eight per cent on investment or San Francisco bonds paying ten per cent on investment now these stocks are as good as the bank of England and the interest paid quarterly either here or New York there is not the slightest risk, the governments of state and city are now the best in the union — I would buy them myself did I not wish a large income from my money now think of this seriously as I am sure it is for the best — If you have to sell at a sacrifice will not the interest on the bonds make up the difference Aside from its being a safer investment, the state bonds are constantly rising and so are the city (I mean the regular funded of course) the city bonds it is thought will rise about ten per cent within the year as soon as money grows a little easier. . . .

. . . .

Letter XXI San Francisco, May 13, 1860.

. . . Since I wrote the [California State] bonds have raised in value out here eight per cent and there are no better bonds in the world and you can have no better evidence of my carefulness in business [than] that I have never lost a dollar . . . in any thing I have projected

. . . I have invested my money at last in some very good paying real estate — and I received on the first of this month just three hundred and five dollars in advance for one month's rent, and it will continue to pay from two to three hundred for ever more I expect while the land will constantly improve in value, I paid thirteen thousand dollars for it, or rather *twelve* retaining *one thousand* until the line is established on one side as there is some twenty inches in dispute and I rather hope it will be decided aginst the person selling to me as the twenty inches is not worth over two hundred to me as the buildings do not stand upon it, the property is entirely covered by buildings of both brick and wood one half brick the other half wood in the *best* condition and with the property I get a policy of insurance of eight thousand dollars, running until next January – I intend to always keep it insured – The size of the lot is now 48 feet 4 inches and will be 50 feet front if they add the other 20 inches to it – by one hundred and thirty seven and half deep – and I am very much pleased with my purchase – and not a dollar in debt – so now all that I am waiting for is to have them settle the twenty inch matter before I am ready to start for home.

I think I shall leave W. K. Vanallen[31] one old N York acquaintance as my agent as he is in that business and well adapted to it. I hope evrything will work well and I cant see why it will not for the future be an easy income for me. . . .

My hundred Vara lot is growing valuable very rapidly indeed, and were it relieved from the cloud of the Bolton and barron claim it would sell for ten thousand dollars at once – but people out here do not fear the claim much even if it is confirmed – no one can be ejected under it but it hurts the sale of it somewhat, the case has been argued at Washington recently and we shall hear from it soon – should it be confirmed it may cost me some five or six hundred dollars to quiet their claim – It is undoubtedly a forgery but by the rascalities of the claimants they may induce the government to renounce its right to it which is all it does – then they will have to fight the city's title and the present owners which they will find a sore job.[32]

The new silver mines they have discovered out here [in Nevada] have created a great deal of excitement and tend greatly to draw the eyes of the world more & more to California. imigration is greatly on the increase and the state is filling up very fast and our city is increasing in size very rapidly – growing like a good corn field on rich soil and warm nights – It is exceedingly interesting to live here for business purposes. . . . Alek Smith has made a big strike up at Washoe Silver mines by going up there last August and buying up claims for little or nothing – the other day he sold out one fifth of his claim for $40,000 in cash – he is now I expect very rich as his mining ditch etc. is very valuable.

. . . tell Eliza that if she and her husband would like to come out here he can get a parish and loan or invest their money to great advantage – There is a vacancy near here in Grace church by Mr. Ewer going east which we want filled, should they think favorable of it I would recomend them to inquire for Mr. Ewer[33] of any of the rectors of trinity church N. Y. or for our bishop Kipp[34] who is just gone east – they will give them all information – I know that Eliza would like California very much and be popular here. . . .

Letter XXII San Francisco, August 10, 1860.

Your last letter came thro safe and was gladly rec'ied. A friend of mine a Mr. Erwin Davis went home on a visit some two steamers since and I gave him a letter to you . . . he is intimately associated with me both as a friend and in business matters. He has a large number of my paintings is very wealthy and is one of the best business men in California — . . .

I am prepared to leave for home now with one exception — There has an old Spanish claim turned against the block of ground containing the property I last bought, it is not considered of any importance however by the very best of lawyers, but only advanced as a sort of *black mail* affair in hopes of getting a compromise out of the property owners My lawyers wont listen to my compromising yet still I would pay them something to quiet the title if I could find out who the real owners of the pretended grant are but there is the rub, no one pretends to it — yet some lawyers bring the suit, but they are affraid to bring it to trial, knowing that they will be beaten — but I dont want to leave it unsettled the property is worth full $15,000 in first rate condition and always sure to be very productive unless burned down I have an insurance of $7,000 on it and I feel very glad of my purchase My affairs are in as snug condition as a mans can be, not one dollar in debt but some two or three thousand spare cash in case of an immergency Property is raising very rapidly in value and not a fictitious one either for the auctioneers cant either sell or find anything worth having to sell Most real estate owners are able to hold their lands and wont part with them except for a large advance — The city rail road is a great success[35] — land has advanced property 50 per cent, the old Spanish claims which I told you of in my former letters have been proved fraudulent and swept away which proves a great blessing to our city — I am told that my 100 vara lot on the line of the R-road is now worth $15000 indeed I consider it as good as $25,000 to me within four or three years, the city cannot spread much but in one direction and this lot lies directly in the heart of its course the owners of property on the east are now grading the street in front of it cutting down hills or filling up hollows, will prove an immense advantage to me I have one cottage on it — which heretofor has rented for the taxes, whether I shall build another after the st. is graded or not I have not decided.

. . . .

Letter XXIII San Francisco Nov. 10th 1860

. . . I have been engaged for the last two months in building some nice little cottages on my 100 vara lot of four rooms kitchen & wood house the main body is 22 feet by 16 and the kitchen and wood house 9 by

17 it is a style of house greatly in demand here for small families and rents readily for $15 pr month and next year will bring 20 and would have brought it this but I did not know how much in demand they were before I had let them – I lease them by the year and two tennants paid the whole years rent in advance and the third gave me security that the years rent should be paid punctualy monthly in advance – The three have cost me $1800 fences and grounds to be leveled a hundred more – so I think the profits will be a nice sum to pay taxes with – this year on the whole lot they were about $144 – insurance of $2000 on the cottages $25 I like to have all my buildings insured for then my money is safe while it is yielding a fair income – the buildings are slight and suitable for the present wants of their locality and so placed on the immediate rear line of the extreme rear lots that in time when better houses shall be required on the front of the same line of lots they will not be depreciated for they will then also serve for dwellings or rear buildings to future structures A 100 vara lot is laid out something after this fashion [diagram]

Since I last wrote you property in that direction has risen in value faster than ever, the lot now is worth and would bring $20,000 if sold in separate lots – but I see no advantage in selling it at present for what could I do with the money or place it where its prospects would be more sure for as certain as San Francisco advances the land will advance also – people are speculating it is true but they are not speculating much on that street – they buy there for their homesteads each man has his own small lot and builds a house on it and there is more of that going on on Mission St. at present than any other in the city It will cost just $1000 to finish grading it and put it in good marketable condition, indeed one man stands ready now to do it for 800 but I dont know whether it is best to do it yet – there you now have a pretty clear idea of my 100 vara lot property what do you think of it? – and as for the property I bought last April in the center of the town for $12 000 or 13 000 it is difficult to say which, it has risen to about 20,000 and I have received income from it just $2260.28 without any outlay so I think it was a very good purchase

I told you there was an old Spanish claim came up on the whole block and that I wanted to see it disposed of before I started for home – but we cant get them to trial and they have offered to sell their claim and papers for one thousand dollars and I have had them offered to me but the other property holders think so little of it they wont contribute their small mites towards making up the 1000 and there the matter rests – the whole 100 vara that they claim is worth about 300,000 and I think the property holders very foolish not to clean up their titles – I am willing to make almost any sacrifise for I have exiled myself for too many long years. . . . The Repubs have carried the State by a *small* majority greatly to everybodys astonishment as last year it gave the Democrats 20,000.

Now if the old Union is *going to be divided* I hope they will do it soon and have done with it for I want to see the fun — we expect Lincoln will build the railroad. . . . My friend Davis has been getting marrid very unexpectedly so I suppose he had not time to call on you[36]

Letter XXIV San Francisco May 12" 1861

I wrote you a few weeks since stating that I sent a draft to Herman for forty dollars as two months rent for cottage thinking at the time that it would rent for that at once on being finished but I found that tennants are not as plenty in the spring as they are in the fall as a great many leave for the mines when the rainy season ceases and return to San Francisco in the fall. . . . I can get but 15 offered and I think I had best take it altho I have advertised it for two weeks so just let your ambitious hopes down just one story and make up your mind as to *pin money* to just the amount of $15 until I can raise on the rents which I think will be some time in the course of the year — if you are satisfied with 15 pr month and have concluded to send the other 500 I will build another cottage and allow you as I said two per cent per month interest, that will give you ten dols leaving five to me for the expense of drafts and taxes &c — It now costs 6 and 7 per cent to send money east and I am glad I sent yours as I did — shippers are afraid of Jeff Davises pirates — I find that it will be best to remain here for some two or three months to see how things are going to turn — I am now ready to leave for home were it not for the war and everybody is paid off for everything, and I dont hardly know what to do with myself now that I have got rid of all the sand shovlers carpenters maisons and painters — they are a hard crew out here and want a deal of looking after or they will cheat one out of his eyes. . . .

. . . I send you a paper to show you how patriotic we are out here,[37] You will see my advertisement also or *rather yours*[38]

Letter XXV San Francisco Feb. 22, 1862.

. . . .

Our State has been sorely afflicted this winter by a dreadful flood such as has never been known here by the oldest Spanish inhabitant — It completely drowned Sacramento, the capital of our State and situated on an immense plane on the Sacramento river and about 150 miles in the interior, it is about the size of Poughkeepsie — I could not resist the desire to see it and so I went up — the steamer gets there about daylight after breakfasting on board the boat, I sallied out to look I found the town lying about from fifteen to three feet under water — some of the wooden houses had sailed off down the river and others floated into the middle of the streets in all manner of positions others almost covered and the two & three story brick houses with water up to the second story the flood came so suddenly upon the people that but a few saved any of their furniture that was in the basements and first floors I hired a small boat and was rowed through the streets where I had so often walked on dry footing and it seemed strange indeed A steamboat was carried by the force of the current into the middle of the city and *stuck fast* about three quartres of the inhabitans left their dwellings and came to San Francisco. I sailed up to some of the houses of my friends and left my card to show them that I did not forget a friend in trouble – great numbers became subjects for charaty, and San Francisco behaved very nobly indeed every one threw their houses open for those who asked for shelter and in money and provisions clothes etc. contributed perhaps near upon $100,000 dollars – on my return I could see from the deck of the steamer only water – water as far as surface was visable until the eyes reached the blue mountains fifty miles away occasionally there would be a house standing upon a little indian mound and surrounded by cattle in the last stages of starvation and a few people perhaps looking too miserable to live most of the farmer houses and farms in the vally were washed away and where I had seen a very thriving village at a Steamboat landing there remained but one hous standing – This immense expanse of water extended for 500 miles in length and from thirty to 100 in width and of a yellow muddy nature washed from the mining regions – You farmers complain of injuries done by the war but what do you think of this – not only to loose your houses and stock but have the soil washed away when it is not perhaps to find there has been a deposit of a half dozen feet of gravel upon it – such is *true ruin* I suppose you find things as far as you are concerned in your simple ways and interests returning to their old conditions only perhaps markets a *little better* in some respects and labour not as high. . . .

. . . .

April 18″

I wrote the first of this letter according to date and before a steamer day – on the steamer day a man wanted to borrow Some Money and in making up the loan it took all the money I had on hand at the time and you were neglected and since which time I have been very carless in not attending to it – but if you go without money a little while it seems all the better when you get it at last – If you have sent a dunning letter befor this and its on its way – I make amends by sending through Herman by this steamer a draft to you for $100 – I spose you are all used to the war now and like us out here *rather like it as long as it goes on well* – we are so much accustomed to the excitement of getting the news night and morning through the tellegraph that I don't know what we should do without it — I conclude we *get it* as quick as you do and as much *truth* — *Vive la Federal Union!* Yes I wrote you a description of our awful floods but the people seem almost to have forgotten it now — It has rather been a benefit to the mines — My lawsuit has not come on yet and I am afraid the rascals wont let it come on in a hurry — I have all the evidence I want to defeat them and I only want a chance but they want to be bought off which no one will do — I was offered yesterday for the lot where your cottage stands $24,000 . . . real estate is on the rise there and should the rail road bill pass it will nearly double on its present value within the next year — . . . I hope dear mother continues well and that I shall be able to get home early in the summer — I see by the papers that the railroad bill before Congress is not likely to succeed this winter — our representatives are men not calculated to do us any good or credit, one is a drunkard and the other a vacillitating politician — . . .

Letter XXIX San Francisco Feb. 15, 1863

. . . I rejoice that your business at Chicago is looking up so finely — But there is one great danger ahead — there is no possible hope that our Government can subject the South, then, where are we? the western States will have two great inducements to leave the old Union, First the controll of the Missisppi — Second the throwing off the great debt from their shoulder — the south will relieve them from [hers] no doubt if they will join her fortunes — that will cut the old country in too and there will be a greater hubbub and the Pacific States will set up for themselves and repudiation will follow of course — The romantic faith which we have had so long in the mightiness of our government has proved our ruin and I think it best in future to look out for *accidents*

There is certainly but *one* chance against a *very many* that the inflated condition of your currency can be sustained and that is the permanancy of the union and any reasonable man will admit it to be but a week one at best — Even should the north remain intact after the South goes out it will be impossible to let you down easy — the great patronage of Gov. for the support of the Army will have passed away business will have diminished, the great Shipping interests will have ceased forever confidence will be gone and like a electric flash dispair will seize every northern man whose obligations are extended.

Now in all my observation I have found it best and the course of the most successful business men to begin at the highest flood of fortune to prepare for the ebb which according to all laws of nature must follow

Now take my advise go quietly at work — . . . Sell out every article of personal property you own in the world save cooking utensils enough to get a dinner and a bed to sleep on — get as many green backs as you can for them – and before they get warm in your pocket exchange them for real estate – You will soon see this game played by others very extensively and real property will advance – It will fall extremely no doubt when the general crash comes but then it will be better than nothing – . . . It looks very squally over towards France and if the Emperor pitches in I dont know what we shall do here in San Francisco. As he might burn us up in no time or make us fork over a little black mail of ten millions or so

. . . my lawsuit has not come off yet and it seems impossible to force matters

I am very much engaged in making efforts to get my outside lands in a condition for selling if I choose to do so. I want my neighbors to grade along with me so that the expense will fall lightly on all – it is still rising in value –

Letter XXX San Francisco, August 8, 1863.

. . . I am so very anxious to get home to see my dear mother that I dont think I shall wait for my law suit any longer the lawyers are all such a set of humbugs and so dillatory in their duties to their cliants that I have lost all patience, and as soon as I get my lot of land graded and the streets fixed and cottages out in order, I start for old home.

The contractors are now hard at work and are about half done. I'll draw a diagramm so that you may see what I am at. This block they are now grading from which they are taking the sand to fill up mine which will leave them all one level.

There that will amuse you and let you know what I am about –

In the way of amusement and for the benefit of one of our Episcopal churches out here – the ladies have been having some publick exhibitions of Tableaux at a large Hall for three evenings of last week and they insisted on my taking charge of their management and compositions while they and some gents of the church personated the characters – and we have had a grand and exciting time of it and fun enough to last a year – The greatest kind of success attended our efforts and for the three evenings we took in over $5000 and they have all voted the lady performers the most beautiful ever seen and me to be a *magitian outright.* I inclose you the programs[39] they say out here that I cant be spared from the country but I tell them that it is better to leave sorrowing friends behinde than indifferent acquaintances and old and deaf as I am if I get out of California a *batchelor,* I shall have to maintain a cool head and callous heart – (brag!)

How do the young men your way take the draft? We have not had it out here yet and I dont know that we shall unless the government gets into a squabble with Europe indeed it would go hard here just now as so many new mining interests are springing up no one would be willing to leave. . . .

Letter XXXIII San Francisco Feb. 20/64

The package of green backs cames safely through containing $300 and a letter from you and one per U. S. Mail – you say in the one by mail that Erwin paid the expressage $ $ in all $7.50 to Wells Fargo, and that the receit for $7.50 has been sent to me – I have not received it and had to pay $7.50 at Wells Fargo. Now if Erwin paid it you must have receit No. 2 which you must send me by Wells Fargo so that I can get the money back *dont forget at once* – The green backs came very opportune as I have a city street assessment bill to pay amounting to about $300 and such bills are always paid in greenbacks at par so I shall quite profit by it – Your Cottage has been without a tenant during mutch of the time My grounds have been undergoing improvements and for the months since first of October until the first of this (Feb.) I did not want to tell you until I got another tenant no family would move in it until it was fixed up so you will have to aconomise according to the scale of 4 months income in your ambitious display in the fashionable world. A common thing now a days I believe There is a family in it now and it is all in good order and when I come on in May or June I will bring you the rent.

I dont care about your green backs unless you choose to lend them as I told you before I might use them profitably, I suppose but am indifferent about it – It seems a pity your money should lie idle.

I dont see where you can make out a loss by sending them out here as they sell for more gold than with you and when I pay you again I pay you in gold according to the amount I sell them with which you can buy G.B.s with if you choose I think I had best in the Spring or before I come on if you say so pay you back your $500 as you would make $250 in green backs by the operation and perhaps more. . . . alas you are tasting the bitter sweet of the *cares* of *wealth.*

. . . .

Love to all yankeydom and tell them I think theyve got the upper hand in the war and fools if they dont keep it.

Letter XXXIV San Francisco, Oct. 9, 1864.

I expect you are either somewhat concerned about me or you conclude that I am on my way home as I have not written to you in so long a time

The fact I got ready to start and delayed writing for a while that I might tell you better when to expect me sure. Then come on some unexpected business matters and another street to fix up and my taxes to look after, all those thing required so much money to be expended that I thought it best to remain a little while and see to it myself – now everything is as straight as the unstable conditions of American cities will permit a mans property to remain in and baring a few *complaining* tenants my troubles are quite over   to day I have been hard at work sinking a curbe on an underground well   the water seemed impure and I have had to work with the men harder than any of them in directing and assisting and I am *deliciously* fatigued and am so dirty and my hair so full of dirt and sand that I am shamed to go to my home before taking a bath – My taxes amount to $800 this year and that I don't like at all – at all   all that delays me now is the painting a few pictures to replenish my purse as I have not money enough left to get out of the country . . . every body wants I should paint a picture for them before I leave   I approve of these desires while I am short but as soon as I get flush I will turn them my deaf ear . . . but I am laying out my plans for it – The ladies of San Francisco have had a great Christian commission fair for wounded soldiers[40]   A number of the committee waited on me stating nothing could be done without *my* help and help I must in the direction of getting it up, I pledged my self their humble servant at their command and that they must not hesitate in their requests – and *they didn't!* – It was Mr. Jewett from all quaters of the earth even to the ends thereof – we had a splendid Hall of 100 feet square 50 feet high and several suits of *large* rooms adjoining – the music band from the U.S. barrack very splendid, 16 churches joined in the fair and I never saw so much excitement and enthusiasm amoung the ladies consequently they all got to quarreling the day before the fair opened about ornamenting the Hall   the comm. of ornamentation could not please the ladies of the booths and the boothes could not please the committee so they called a meeting of all concerned and agreed that Mr. Jewett should be sole dictator.   of course I was overwhelmed with the honorable and weighty responsibility and would accept only on the conditions that all those concerned in the ornamenting in the building should obey my commands   "oh yes,, "oh yes,, from all sides.

Then says I take down all the flags and other ornamentation and place them in the center of the Hall – *they were* taken down – Well Mr. Jewett what now – Now, I thundered forth divide them equally between the booths and let the ladies do what they are a mind to with what they get   they all laughed and thought it a capital idea as well as a good joke and made them all good natured.

My more particular duties were getting up some tableaux and a picture gallery by which we cleared about $1200 and the tableaux some $12000 – the whole amount rec'ied made at the Fair was $27000 in gold – and we all had a precious worry and rather a good time generally – Several of my more intimate lady friends got rather jealous of the attentions I recied from some new acquaintances but they have *out lived* their *ire* and all things are quieted down after the old sort o way again . . .

Letter XXXV San Francisco, Nov. 1, 1864.

Your letter came safely through and I am glad to have such good accounts of your all well doing – I think the *tobacco* business quite a good thing! I suppose the Connecticuts having such propensity to grow the weed is what makes them all so democratic in their politics – want to prolong the war perhaps, I think it will prove a shabby State if it does not come out Strong for Old uncle Abe any how – I am glad you got so much for your last draft – The next instalment I will bring to you *myself*. I am only waiting now to get in funds as I have spent so much to put my outside property in shape – the city obliges me to do in regard to the streets running past it – and they have just passed an ordinance to service one of the streets and sidewalk the same which will cost me in gold about thirteen hundred dollars but the town has quite overtaken me and the property is becoming valuable very rapidly so I don't mind it although it keeps me pretty hard up, I am now renting the cottages for $20.00 per month but in consideration of the great expenses I can't afford you more than the $15.00 I have heretofore let you have – I realy don't know which bonds are best to buy as I have given them no attention but I expect the gold bearing are no doubt entirely safe. I suppose if you watch your opportunity you can sell for what you gave and get the others. . . . I am very bussy in my studio and they will keep me so as long as I stay I suppose. Few artists in the world have ever been so successful in their profession as I have, but I would never allow it to keep me away from home for a moment and as soon as I get sufficient money on hand to pay for all the extra street work and a few hundred dollars in my pocket I shall skedaddle which will be about Christmas or New Years – You see my time for leaving in my promises grows shorter and shorter. I want to bring you all presents but I am puzzeled what to buy and I expect you will laugh at my selections.

. . . .

Letter XXXVI San Francisco Jany 15, 1865.

. . . you see by this that I am still a resident of S. F. but shall leave on the 5″ April and no mistake as that old Lawsuit has come to an end and the *suitor* to grief by being obliged to *give me* a quit-claim and to be able to make *a little* out of my neighbours – So now all is quiet and safe as far as title to any of my property and *no future danger* – I dont think I had best spare the money to send to you until I come on as then you will be the gladder to see me.

We have just had a grand fancy dress ball and lots of fun at it – at one of our Grand Hotels I went as *Hamlet* dressed Cap a pie black tights with roset Shoes doublet and Cloak &c of black velvet trimmed with rich black lace and enlined with bugles &c. Cap of the same trimed with silver lace and white ostrich feather Sword etc. etc. *and* was thought mighty fine looking of course it was fashionable and select in the extreme and everybody is wishing for another —we have had a very wet winter and I spose you have had a great deal of snow — I dont want to get home in the midst of the cold and April will be such a pleasant month to be at sea in that I concluded it best to wait until then — I am bound to get married on reaching home alone and well for I think our name should be perpetuated for the honer of our beloved father who deserves our good faiths I shall scare up the yankee girls this time in earnest.

Letter XXXVII San Francisco, April 2, 1865

. . . I have had so much money to pay for street assessments that it takes all I can muster and provokes me exceedingly, still it adds to the value of my property and really leaves no ground for me to complain. I have been offered $50,000 in gold for the land so I feel contented to finish the streets in front of it.

. . . .

Oh dear, I am so weary, April is come I am not starting for home but dont hear there is an end to all troubles and I dont see any ahead in the way of my leaving in June. Tell Ebbie that I shall want to buy a horse, good and stout for mother saddle and harness.

I will send you a draft for $100 gold in a few days. How is Ile? have you struck it or any of your friends? It is learned that California has it in very large quantities but it is not *certainly ascertained* yet. We have Asphaltum [in] unlimited abundance but I doubt the ile What a wonderful age we are living in! Our silver mines continue to yield as largely as ever but they cant begin with your petroleium to produce wealth to our nation. If the war ends happily for our Government all our past prosperity will appear as a mere apprenticeship to the glory that the next twentyfive years will give to our Country.

Letter XXXVIII San Francisco Sept. 17,/65

. . . The reason of my not writing was that I had nothing particular to say and I have expected to start for home every month and Phebe's and one of my other cottages are vacant and have been for six months and not a very flattering prospect a head of having them filled, people are living in their own houses here so universally that tenants are scarce And so many leave the city for the interior our town like all American cities, occasionaly has got a head of the wants of its population, and we must wait until it fills up again. Business of all sorts is very very dull and the price of Real Estate away down down and money goes begging for borrowers, At 10 per cent per annum I have sold the property on Pacific St. which gave me so much trouble for $12,000 gold. And I dont now know exactly what to do with the money as soon as I come to some conclusion about it and build a line of side walks and macadamize another street I shall start for home. I shant write again prob until I write to tell you that I've got my ticket of leave. Taxes are ruinous out here this year and incomes less and as we have never known the reverses of the East out here we are quite dumfounded and parallized with fear. Nobody wants to buy or sell, consequently there is no speculation and speculation is the life of new countries. I am frightened at the thought of taking money home with me as I understand that it is only worth the spending of it and hardly that. . . .

Letter XXXIX San Francisco, Feb. 17, 67.

I got your last letter and as you predicted one of mine was on its way . . . with news papers . . . giving an acount of a grand splurge we had here in town showing a great bragg and telling the world what a great people we are – every word of *it's true* and I hope you got the papers – . . . All that detains me here now is the desire to sell my property on Mission Street to great advantage – Since our *China dinner*[41] real estate has been rapidly advancing in price and on a very legitimate and sound basis – Money is very pleanty and everybody is buying land so *I think* it a good time to sell if I can get what it is worth according to market prices – I have been offered 65,000 *gold down* for it but I want 75,000 as it would bring it cut up in lots at auction – I have just had the title very securely searched and find it perfect in every particular, which is quite a comfort here in San Francisco indeed everybody envies me it and approves my judgment and sagacity in buying it in early times. . . .

We have had an exceedingly wet winter out here, and a deal of snow in the mountains, but it will bring a fruitful year and pleanty of gold.

Our end of the Pacific rail road is progressing very rapidly and the mines are doing first rate – so all these things tend to firm real estate here to an extent we know not of yet. I dont do much in mining stocks now – only buy a few feet – now and then when I see a *sure thing.* I have not lost a dollar on any of them for more than a year past, but my profits have not amounted to much. I only do it for amusement while I am waiting here to start for home.

I should have written to you all more and more often did I not expect to *get* up *and get* for home all the time and it would spoil all the good things I have to Say to you when we meet. When you want money, you must ask for it if you have a chance before I start for home – if I find a purchaser at my price I shall be with you in no time I tell you – you bet.

. . . .

XLII San Francisco, March 20, 1868

I am in too bad a humour to sit down to write to you, but it is important that I should answer your letter or you will get into a fret. The reason of my bad humour is this, I have been engaged in fruitless efforts to lease my land here in San Francisco and have long hesitated writing you because I wanted to tell you the exact day I should start for home.

The party I have been negotiating with after two months bargaining and bantering and drawing and redrawing the lease over and over for *eleven times* backed out or rather started off for the East in a great hurry and left me to look up another customer, I was to lease it for ten years at $500 gold coin, per month he paying all taxes, street assessments and all other expenses Many thought I let it too cheap but I was glad to let it go on those terms that I might go home – I feel very much like the man who drove the elephant –"too big to keep and too costly to sell." There has been a very great excitement here in real estate – greater than San Francisco ever has known before. It is in consequence of the near completion of the great railroad – People have been as crazy about lots as people living in any American City know how to be and everything in the shape of land has wonderfully advanced in price – While I was bothering about my lease I was offered 100,000 for the lot. I dont know whether I can get it now or not – as such heavy purchassers are few and scarce and the man who offered it has invested else where as he supposed he could not get mine – but I will never think of taking less for it – I would rather lease it for it is so located that in ten years time it may be worth from two to three times that amount. It cannot in any possible event depreciate; now the question is what is the best thing to do with it – I say lease it by all means but leases should be very carefully drawn hence the time and trouble it took for me to get up one that just suited me and *perhaps that was why the man backed out.*

Ill try again however for a little while but will come home in any event, if I dont lease it now I shall get a higher rental when I do – I hope there is no immediate necessity of my being at home. . . . The loss of my dear mother[42] has almost killed me and all my gains seem no better now than dry leaves or the sounds of a hollow trumpet, yet I must act my part as manfully as I can and the self denial I have borne so long may give me nerve for the future. . . .

Letter XLIII San Francisco, May 24, 1868.

. . . .

. . . The Winter months towards Spring is the time to sell property here in San Francisco, the money is very abundant from the miners and grain crops etc., $30,000,000 will be brought into San Francisco next winter to be invested on wheat crops alone will amount to $18,000,000, then there is the wine and wool crops, oats and barley all the manufactures of the state and c, all these things controll the money and keep the gold and silver that is dug out of our mines from being sent abroad, last year there was about $25,000,000 spent in San Francisco, still it does not find its way out of the country as long as we can manufacture for ourselves and draw against our immense (for us) exportations of grain and wool etc., these things insure the advancement of real estate here to a certainty and to such an extent that it pays to hold, still if I could now get as much as I expect to get next winter I would close out in a moment, but I expect there will be about $25,000 difference which for poor people is quite an item. property rushes to a high figure here when it takes a start as the termination of the railroad at this city concentrates the eyes of all the world on us. My land has been a constant tax on my means for grading and street work and drains me very low in purse. . . .

Letter XLIV San Francisco, June 1, 1868.

. . . .

. . . Many farmers out here have added greatly to their fortunes within the last three years, but whether they will go on to prosper for the years to come remains doubtful as I see that California wheat is falling off in price abroad – not on account of its quality but a want of demand for breadstuffs. Ebbie can better inform himself of the chances of a permanent market for california wheat abroad than I can do out here – There is no profit as yet in raising grapes out here as there has not yet been a foreign demand for our wine. . . . There seems to be a great deal of uncertainty in raising sheep here although it is *very* seductive in its promises. California wool brings a low price in the Eastern Market solely on account of its containing so much dust and dirt – it dont pay to wash sheep out here. . . . Inhabitance is not dense here as with you. Not even in the vicinity of citys and viliges, but good farms at reasonable rates can be obtained in the immediate neighborhood of all these. . . .

. . . .

A man has just now called on me and offered me $90,000 cash in gold coin for my property on Mission St. I told him that I wanted to go east very much and that he might have it for $100,000 whether he will take me up or not I cant say but no one will ever get it for less from me.

Enclosed is a scrap I cut from the paper this morning, I spose some one has got a vineyard he wants to sell Altho *grapes* dont pay here *now* I have no doubt but they will pay after they can create a market abroad for our wine, and there is a great deal of truth in what he says.

Whether this would be a better market for your *girls* than at home is difficult for one to predict who has not seen a specimen but young ladies that are *well bred* with a *little* money always go off pretty well anywhere I believe, but *I find* it mighty hard to find one worth giving up fortune and liberty for and I am getting quite discouraged, and promised several at home but I hear they are no better than those in California, they all seem to cultivate to a certain point and then stop. *I am now expecting a lady in to sit for her picture and must bid you good by....*

. . . .

Letter XLV San Francisco, July 19, 68.

. . . .

Real estate is very firm here and all eyes are turned to the railroad of course. I have not sold yet nor would I sell atall did I not want to come home and make the tour of Europe also. Buyers are very pleanty but don't quite come up to my figure of 100,000 but will very soon no doubt. San Francisco is not considered a good climate for delicate lungs or I should propose your settling at once within its walls. It requires a strong constutution to stand its summers most people think, but anywhere within five or ten miles of it, you are in paradise airs. You did not acknowledge receipt of my agricultural report pamphlet and papers I sent you. I suppose you did not get them. . . . We have an immense German population out here. I don't know but they exceed the Irish. . . .

Letter XLVI San Francisco, Dec. 6, '68.

. . . .

I don't know that property has fallen in price very materially, but at this season of the year money is always in greater demand than anything else, in consequence of paying taxes and carrying the wheat crop and all settling up their yearly actc. from 8 to 10 millions are always locked up at this season of the year out of circulation, so that operators in realestate & stocks will sooner loan their money for a short while rather than use it in any other way – then the earthquake came[43] and frightened some which gave the screws another turn, but they are fast forgetting it by letting their money go, taxes are nearly all paid in and things are rapidly falling back into their old channel – realestate is beginning to move and I look for flusher times here very soon than we ever had before – There will be no more earthquakes here for many years – they seem to be periodical – But earthquakes or not there will be just as large a city here – commerce cannot do without it and they will construct their buildings in expectation of them in future – There have been no sales of property at reduced rates whatever you may see in the papers or hear to the contrary.

There are many capitalists in the east and out here who do all they can and send their agents out here to cry earthquake &c. so as to depress property in order to buy it in if sold but they don't seem to succeed very well. They know that this must be a large city very speedily on the completion of the Rail road and now is the time to buy.

. . . .

Letter XLIX San Francisco Jan 24′ 69

. . . .

. . . Everything looks very promising out here, the mines are flattering and the farmers have had all the rain they want – real estate is advancing and I shall do something desperate before long towards coming home. I am trying to lease my land for a long term so as to secure to myself a good income and my heirs a fortune apiece – you may shut up a calf to fat for the prodigal will come home this time if he lives and has his strength and we have no more earthquakes very soon. . . .

Letter LIV San Fra Sept 27 '69

Well the starting time is come and I *am* off tomorrow at 4 oclock!!!!

. . . .

Oh it will be so nice not to be stuck down here among these mean people painting their portraits. Still there are some truly good and cultivated whom I find it very painful to leave and a *few* very warm friends but the majority are small in their ways and very selfish but I spose I shall find it so throughout the world, and after traveling well through it come to the conclusion that Californians are perhaps a little better than others – But between you and I, the lord help his people if they are.

Ive got nearly through disposing of my *truck* and shall pack up in a few hours.

I send *another* box but there [are] no "bang abouts" in it nothing but old cloths *tinker tools* and paint brushes I send it by the same express I sent the other by and it will be due in N. Y. in about 30 days I spose.

Thursday Sept 30 Im off this afternoon at 3 oclock.

Hope I shall get thru safe through and find you all well I am in the greatest kind of hurry.

The box is a chinese Camphor wood chest I send it as a present to you to put furs and woolens in thro summer to preserve them from mothes – they are made especially for that purpose.

. . . .

NOTES

30. On May 5, 1855, Governor John Bigler approved "with great reluctance" the "Act to purchase the portrait of Major John Augustus Sutter, and to provide for taking the portrait of General John E. Wool, U.S.A.," but sent at the same time a message to the Assembly that "the amount appropriated I regarded as exceeding the value of the labor performed," and "the financial condition of the State does not, in my opinion, warrant expenditures for objects which can, without detriment to the public interests, be dispensed with for a time." *Journal of the Sixth Session of the Assembly of the State of California* (Sacramento, 1855), p. 853. The bill had been amended in the Senate to include a portrait of General Wool, which Jewett agreed "to furnish . . . during the year 1855, without any further compensation from the State than the appropriation of twenty-five hundred dollars already made for the purchase of General Sutter's portrait." *Op. cit.*, p. 774. The Sutter portrait hangs in the Capitol at Sacramento.

31. Probably William Knickerbocker Van Alen who had come to California in 1849 via the *Crescent City*, Isthmus of Panama, and the steamship *Panama*. In 1855 he became agent for the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. G. W. Sullivan, *Early Days in California* (San Francisco, 1888), I, 127-29.

32. The Bolton and Barron or Santillan claim (in the vicinity of Mission Dolores) had been allowed by the Land Commission in 1855 but was rejected by the Supreme Court in 1860 as a fraud. Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1912), II, 571. "Not even in 1886 had the eastern association owning the claim abandoned all idea of obtaining from congress some compensation for their alleged losses and wrongs." Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), VI, 561.

33. The Rev. Ferdinand C. Ewer, rector of Grace (Episcopal) Church, resigned in April 1861, when he left for the East. Henry R. Wagner, "The Life of Ferdinand C. Ewer," this QUARTERLY, XIV (March 1935), 78-79.

34. The Right Rev. William Ingraham Kip, Episcopal Bishop of California.

35. The Market Street Railroad obtained a charter in 1857, grading was commenced in May 1859, on July 4, 1860, an experimental trip was made and regular service was inaugurated a few days later. "It was soon discovered that horses and mules as a motive power on this road were inadequate to the requirements of the public, and notwithstanding the company were restricted by their charter to the employment of animals, they hastened to apply steam, and the experiment proved so successful and so satisfactory that the late Legislature by a vote nearly unanimous legalized the change. This is, we are informed, the first successful application of steam as a motive power upon any omnibus city railroad (so called) in our country. . . . It is shown by the books of the Assessor that the opening of Market street for this work enhanced the value of property along the line fully three hundred per cent . . ." Henry G. Langley, comp., *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing September, 1861.*

36. Erwin Davis became rich in California, lost his money in the seventies, and later made another fortune in New York. He was a patron of the arts. Jewett eventually married one of Davis' nieces.

37. News of the bombardment of Fort Sumter had been received in San Francisco on April 24. On May 11 there was an immense Union demonstration. "Processions, speeches replete with patriotic sentiment, and 20,000 people in council—at the junction of Montgomery, Market and Post Streets." Langley, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27.

38. The San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, May 11, 1861, carried the following advertisement:

> TO LET—A convenient new Cottage, containing four large rooms, kitchen and wood shed, on the 100-vara lot corner of Mission and Harris streets.
>
> W. S. JEWETT,
> 166 Clay Street.

39. According to an advertisement in the *Daily Evening Bulletin,* August 5, 1863, the festival to be given by the ladies of Grace Cathedral, at Platt's New Music Hall on August 6, 7, and 8, "will embrace Living Tableaux, Vocal Music, Orchestral Music and a Musical Promenade." On August 7 the paper reported that the festival had been "very numerously attended" on the opening evening. "The tableaux were well represented and afforded much pleasure. That of Gen. Tom Thumb, Com. Nutt and the Warrens excited great laughter . . ."

40. The Ladies' Christian Commission Fair, for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers and sailors, was held at Union Hall from August 24 to September 8. Jewett lent for the art exhibition, which was one of its attractions, two large views of Yosemite waterfalls, and donated for the auction sale on the closing evening, "A Run for Life." *Daily Evening Bulletin,* August 24, 26, September 8, 1864.

41. This probably refers to the "Grand China Mail Banquet" held on December 31, 1866, at the Occidental Hotel, in honor of the inauguration of direct steam communication between America and China by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. The San Francisco *Alta California* of January 1, 1867, devoted almost a whole page to the affair, describing it as a "large assemblage of the intelligence and capital of San Francisco" and printing the various toasts and speeches of Hall McAllister, Leland Stanford, the Rev. Horatio Stebbins, and others. Some of the "remarks" made at the banquet are included in Oscar T. Shuck, comp., *The California Scrap-Book* (San Francisco, 1869), pp. 584-98.

42. Mrs. Jewett died in the summer of 1867.

43. A severe earthquake had rocked the city on October 21, 1868, which the *Alta California* the next day described as "the most severe earthquake which has occurred since the occupation of California by the Americans."

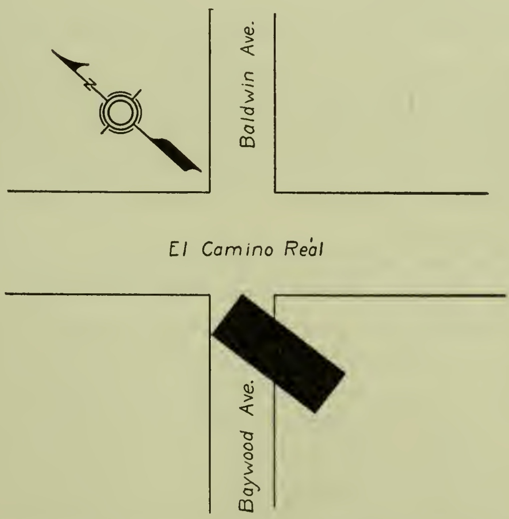
"The Hospice" or "Mission San Mateo"

By FRANK MERRIMAN STANGER

UP TO A few years ago there were elderly San Mateans who could recount their memories of an old adobe building around which they used to play as children. Now nearly all those who had any direct recollection of the structure are gone, for seventy-six years ago (in 1868) it was demolished.

Memories of the building as it was even in its later years, however, were vague and confused. It was generally understood to have been built by the mission fathers, but its exact location was sometimes vigorously disputed, while its general appearance was largely a matter of imagination. On the doubtful assumption that it served mainly as a stopping place for travelers midway between San Francisco and Santa Clara, it came generally to be referred to as "The Hospice."

Precise information about this interesting "first building down the Peninsula" is hard to find, and there are still puzzling gaps in our knowledge of its history, but a prolonged hunt for data has made it possible to piece together a fairly complete story.



First, the question of location was settled by a map.[1] Drawn in 1866 by Alfred Poett, a competent civil engineer, and owned today by his daughter Marion, Mrs. Joseph Henry Poett Howard, of Hillsborough, it shows the "Adobe" at the point where Baywood and Baldwin Avenues intersect with El Camino Real. (See the accompanying cut.) It was first built, not with reference to present day streets, of course, but close to the point where traffic up and down the San Francisco Peninsula forded San Mateo Creek, and in the midst of a rather large community of Indians.

From the scale of the map we get also a good idea of the size of the building, which appears to have been about 40 by 80 feet or more.

The most exciting discovery in this quest for information was an authentic picture of the building, made in 1850, which turned up, not in some San Mateo attic, but in far-away Washington, D. C.

William H. Dougal, artist and engraver, whose letters and biographical sketch appeared in this QUARTERLY in September 1943,[2] spent a year in California at the time of the Gold Rush and while here made a number of excellent pencil sketches of almost photographic accuracy. Most of these did not come to light until recently when the artist's son decided to place his father's pictures in California where their historic value would be most appreciated.

When Artist Dougal came upon this building by San Mateo Creek he had already seen Mission Dolores, and being told that this, too, was a mission building, he called it Mission San Mateo. His picture, reproduced at the beginning of this article, seems to agree in every particular with Poett's map: the apparent size of the building, its orientation with reference to the highway and the hills in the background, and the trees that seem to outline the course of the creek.

But the picture also contains some surprises. There are ruins of an older building, perhaps wrecked by an earthquake. The later building apparently was built in compartments with partitions between, and it would seem to have had an upper half-story or attic. Finally, it had a hip roof, a type which is very rare in mission architecture. It is very similar, however, to an old mill that belonged to Mission San Gabriel and is said to have been built about 1810.[3]

An inventory of the property of Mission Dolores made in 1835 gives details that nicely supplement the story told by the picture.[4] It describes the San Mateo building as 13 by 41 varas in size, which if measured exactly would be 35.75 by 112.75 feet. However, this measurement probably ignored fractions of a vara, and our estimate based on the scale of the map is even more inaccurate. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that the building measured about 35 by 112 feet.

As to other details given in the inventory: seven doors are listed although only six show in the picture; hence there must have been a door on the other side of the building. Fourteen windows are declared, but it is not clear whether this is meant to include those of the upper story. If not, there was a total of twenty-one windows. Taken either way, there were windows on the other side. The porch described in the inventory, two varas wide and the length of the building, had evidently been removed by

1850. Even the "ruined" building is listed, the only disagreement with the picture being the mention of a tile roof which apparently also disappeared after 1835.

The chief question that is still without definitive answer is: When and why were these buildings erected? While documentary authority on this point is lacking, a number of trustworthy inferences can be drawn which, put together, come pretty close to an answer.

Such outposts or "ranchos," in fact, were common among the missions. San Francisco de Asis, or Mission Dolores, had at least three such places (besides San Rafael which, before it became an independent mission, was listed as an *asistencia* of San Francisco). One of these, called San Pablo, was east of the bay; another, San Pedro, was in Pedro Valley on the coast, and the third was at San Mateo.

Mission ranchos served primarily as headquarters for farming or cattle herding that had to be done at a distance from the mission; but they must not be confused with the later, privately owned ranchos that dotted the country in Mexican days. They were mission outposts, and if large numbers of Indian workers were stationed there, or if, as in the case of San Mateo, there was an Indian village to begin with, a chapel was provided where Mass could be said and baptisms performed when the priest from the mission made his rounds. If located by the highway, as San Mateo was, the buildings also served on occasion as hospitality houses, but this was probably incidental to other purposes and the least important of their functions.

As to the matter of time, we may assume that the earliest building, the ruins of which appear in the picture, was not built until some time after the founding of Mission Dolores in 1776.[5] This becomes quite evident after a brief glance at some of the accounts of the mission while it was struggling to get on its feet.

In June 1776, the party en route to found the Mission and Presidio of San Francisco, which included Fathers Francisco Palóu and Pedro Bonito Cambon, spent three days in camp by San Mateo Creek.[6] Since Father Palóu, ever alert for "heathen," makes no mention of the Indians there, we assume that they held themselves aloof.

Two months later, however, when preliminary construction at the mission site had just got under way, these San Mateo Indians made war on the Indians in the mission area who were showing a friendly attitude toward the newcomers, drove them off the Peninsula and frightened them so badly that they did not appear again for several months.[7] Such hostility, together with the manpower shortage at the mission, would preclude any thoughts of an immediate base at San Mateo.

The first Indian baptisms were made about a year after the arrival at the Laguna de los Dolores, and the converts, naturally, were from a village near the mission.[8] Meantime, the work of inducing the Indians to live under the tutelage of the missionaries went on, with such preliminary successes and discouragements as may be imagined. The first report we have on this work states that by 1782 the mission community consisted of "nearly two hundred souls."[9] Since Father Palóu does not mention the San Mateo Indians again, we assume that they made no further trouble. We know that as the spiritual conquest of the mission went on they were in due time brought within its orbit.

Spiritual and material expansion went hand in hand, and the mission gradually became also a large farm and stock ranch that occupied nearly the entire Peninsula. After some eight years of trying to farm among the fog-bound sand dunes of the San Francisco area, crops were planted in Pedro Valley, which proved to be a better place.[10] But in spite of all handicaps, in 1785 the nine-year-old mission managed to harvest 1,197 bushels of wheat, barley, corn, peas, beans, etc., and to herd somewhere 1,372 head of stock.[11] By 1791 the Peninsula had become so populated with livestock that the government was induced to dispose of its herd, temporarily at least, and to give the mission exclusive use of the entire area.[12]

There was also a chapel at the outpost in Pedro Valley, then called San Pedro y San Pablo, for we read that in 1787 an Indian child called María was baptised "in the church" at that place.[13]

How soon would this expansion reach San Mateo? Cattle or sheep probably grazed there at a very early date, but we have evidence that no building had been erected up to November 1792. It was then that George Vancouver, the first foreigner to visit Spanish San Francisco, was escorted on an excursion to Mission Santa Clara. In his published story of the trip, Vancouver gives detailed accounts of all his experiences, emphasizing especially his impression of the beauty of the oak-studded plains along the bay shore and the wooded spot where he stopped for lunch by "a very fine stream of excellent water." "Our journey was estimated at 18 leagues," he says, "in which distance the country afforded no house, hut, nor any place of shelter excepting such as the spreading trees presented."[14]

But the building probably followed Vancouver very closely, for during the early 1790's the mission enjoyed a period of prosperity and expansion. Beginning in 1794, however, there came a serious setback in the form of an epidemic among the Indians at the mission, which resulted in so many deaths (332) that some two hundred frightened Indians ran away at one time, and over a period of five years the population of the mission community was reduced from 913 to 635.[15] This reduction in personnel was reflected, of course, in the farming and other activities of the mission.

But in the preceding years of prosperity and before the full force of this disaster was felt, mission reports mention considerable building activity. In 1794 a new granary was built, 147 by 22 feet in size and roofed with tile, contigious to another granary which had been built previously. This activity continued into 1795. But Father Engelhardt tells us that the building reports for the years 1785 to 1793 have been lost.[16] In all likelihood, in these lost reports was the account of the building at San Mateo. Further supporting this probability is the fact that in 1798 a report by José Argüello to the governor mentions San Mateo as a place which the mission already "has had and maintains" as one of its herding grounds.[17]

To sum up: The period of rapid mission expansion up to 1794, the extension of farming activities down the Peninsula, the lost reports, Vancouver's negative evidence, the building reports of 1794 and 1795 with no mention of San Mateo, and the years of curtailment that followed, all point to the year 1793 as the time when the first San Mateo building must have been erected.

By this time, no doubt, many of the San Mateo Indians had taken up residence at the mission and had become adjusted to its new way of life. In 1797 José Argüello reported that the number of converts being made at San Francisco was smaller than previously because there were no more heathen in the vicinity of the mission.[18] This may even have included San Mateo. In any event, San Mateo neophytes probably now were encouraged to return to their community on San Mateo Creek as exponents of the new and better order, perhaps living in the new buildings and caring for the mission flocks. Such, at least, was a method of expansion commonly used by the missionaries.

But this building was destroyed, apparently by an earthquake. Can we date this event? Unfortunately our information about the history of earthquakes in California is not complete enough to give us a positive answer, and since Professor Louderback, of the University of California, has shown that Bancroft's reported earthquake and tidal wave at Santa Cruz in 1840 was neither an earthquake nor a tidal wave,[19] some of the data we have may be of even more doubtful value than before.

However, in July 1808, Luís Argüello reported to the governor a series of eighteen severe shocks which had caused serious damage to the buildings at the Presidio of San Francisco.[20] In 1812 there were very disastrous earthquakes in southern California, but no damage seems to have been done in the San Francisco area at that time. At any rate, an earthquake in 1808 could very well have been the cause of the ruins that appear in our picture, and we have no trustworthy record of any other that could have caused them.[21]

The later and larger building in all probability was built very soon after the first one was destroyed. Another glance at mission history will make this clear.

Mission Dolores reached its peak of material prosperity about the year

1811, after which events outside California, together with conditions within, caused a steady decline in all the missions. The beginning, in 1810, of the struggle in Mexico for independence from Spain caused the suspension of all remittances to California, to government officials as well as to missions, and Californians in general had a rather overdeveloped habit of depending on the government for support. There was as yet only a small amount of private wealth in California, the greatest economic development having been achieved by the missions. The result was that the whole burden of support of the province fell on them.

The effect of this is shown in the records of Mission Dolores. From 1812 the amount of livestock owned by the mission shows a steady decline, indicating the inability of the mission to keep up with the demands made upon it. In its top year the mission reported 10,740 head of cattle (including work oxen), 10,000 sheep (or "*ganado menor*" which probably included pigs and goats), 41 mules, and 930 horses. From this total of 21,711 head of livestock, there was a drop of more than six thousand in six years.

Crop planting, however, one of the country's chief sources of food, was kept up bravely until 1818 at about 400 to 500 *fanegas* a year,[22] which in area could mean anywhere from 500 to 1000 acres.

The number of neophytes listed at the mission now stood regularly well over a thousand, including some at San Rafael, in spite of a terrific death rate among these none-too-hardy people. The whole local Indian population was already sharply on the decline, due mainly to the ravages of white men's diseases which were new to the natives,[23] but the mission's influence over them was growing. By 1820 it is very doubtful that there were any remaining on this Peninsula who had not come into its circle and been listed as neophytes.

By 1820, when Mexico became independent of Spain, though figures on the number of neophytes were higher than ever, production figures were down, and there was general evidence of a weakened condition and of discouragement on the part of the fathers. A quotation from the mission's official report of 1821 is revealing:

> Although this report shows a total of 1801 neophytes, from this amount should be subtracted 695 who live at San Rafael, one whom the Governor permitted Don Gervasio Argüello to take to Guadalajara [probably as a servant], one who is with Captain Don José Noriega, 13 in prison at the Presidio of San Diego, 4 in Monterey, 8 in the Presidio of San Francisco (4 of whom are prisoners), 2 with Lieutenant Don Manuel Gomes in Monterey, and many who have fled in various directions and whose present whereabouts are unknown; and discounting more than 200 sick and aged, children and disabled, there remain very few to do the most necessary work of a mission that needs to be rehabilitated.[24]

After Mexican independence, organized life at the mission became so demoralized and was on such a reduced scale as to make it impossible that any considerable building would be done. Figures on production and numbers of neophytes drop back to approximately what they were in the early 1780's, and after 1832 reports cease altogether.[25]

Although some building was done at the mission as late as 1820,[26] it seems logical to conclude that the large building at San Mateo was erected soon after the earthquake of 1808, when the mission was approaching the height of its material prosperity. Evidence in support of such an early date is the later testimony of José de la Cruz Sanchez, who was born at the San Francisco Presidio in 1799 and who at one time lived in the San Mateo adobe, that it had been there as long as he could remember.[27]

If our identification of the earthquake that destroyed the first building is correct, then 1809 is the most logical date when the later building, which appears in our picture, must have been erected. And if the mill of similar architecture at San Gabriel was built in 1810, what is more likely than that some one person had a hand in designing the two?

Dougal calls our building an "old granary." The six doors seem to lead to as many compartments or rooms, and there was one on the other side, probably leading to another. One room we know was used as a chapel; the others could be either Indian dwellings or grain bins as the case might demand. Considerable mission farming must have been done in the San Mateo region, for as late as 1835 there were 286 bushels of grain stored in this building.[28]

But the predominant activity here was sheepherding. Some of the earliest reports speak of sheep at San Mateo, and an agreement made with the government in 1815 on herding territory provided that the mission might herd its sheep as far south as Laurel Creek (now just below Bay Meadows).[29] Alfred Robinson, who visited our building in 1830, refers to it as "the sheep farm of St. Mateo,"[30] and in 1835 the inventory credits the place with 2,125 sheep.[31] It will be noted that the upper floor of the building would be an excellent place for storing wool.

For later history of the building, let us now turn to some of the foreign travelers who give us glimpses of it. First is Captain F. W. Beechy, an English explorer who visited San Francisco in November 1826. A group of his men took a horseback trip to Monterey and he thus records their reactions en route as they passed San Mateo:

> Travelling onward, the hills on their right, known in that part as the Sierra del Sur, began to approach the road, which passing over a small eminence, opened out upon a wide country of meadow land, with clusters of fine oak free from underwood. It strongly resembles a nobleman's park: herds of cattle and horses were grazing upon the rich pasture, and numerous fallow-deer, startled at the approach of strangers, bounded off to seek protection among the hills. The resemblance, however, could be traced no further. Instead of a noble mansion, in character with so fine a country, the party arrived at a miserable mud dwelling, before the door of which a number of half-naked Indians were basking in the sun. Several dead geese, deprived of their entrails, were fixed upon pegs around a large pole, for the purpose of decoying the

> living game into snares, which were placed for them in favourable situations. Heaps of bones also of various animals were lying about the place, and sadly disgraced the park-like scenery around. This spot is named Sán Matheo, and belongs to the mission of Sán Francisco.[32]

In 1829 came Alfred Robinson, the famous American author of *Life in California*, who merely says he "reached the Rancho de San Mateo, an outpost or sheep-range of the mission Dolores, at this time unoccupied." The following year he passed by again and now found that "the building occupied by the mayordomo and the servants, is spacious and covered with burnt tiles."[33]

Chester S. Lyman, American civil engineer and later Yale professor, reports that in 1847 "The Ranch of the Sanchez family we passed about 18 miles out, & 5 m beyond the farm belonging to the Mission of Dolores, the building being in ruins & untenanted."[34]

Bayard Taylor in 1849 mentions "a large adobe house, the ruins of a former Mission," and a grove of bay trees near it.[35]

In the fall of that same gold-rush year came the son of an old New York Dutch family, Nicholas de Peyster, who, acting in a manner characteristic of his ancestry, cleaned up the old adobe and opened therein a "store and public house," by the now much-traveled road to San Jose. The land, meanwhile, had been granted by Mexican Governor Pio Pico to one Cayetano Arenas, who in turn had sold it to Mellus and Howard of San Francisco; and in 1850 it was deeded to William D. M. Howard, who made it his home. Henry Mellus, passing through by stagecoach, ordered De Peyster out, but he, like most squatters, paid no attention. About a year later he bought land across the creek, becoming thus San Mateo's first real estate speculator, and moved his hotel there.[36]

It was while De Peyster was in the adobe that Dougal's picture was made, and doubtless the board on the wall by the first door is his business sign. Readers of this QUARTERLY will remember Dougal's description of his trip to San Jose and of his stop en route at San Mateo:

> . . . now we come to Sanchez Ranch, distant eighteen miles from San Francisco, and after giving our horses a taste of the clear brook which ripples across the road we push on for the Mission of Saint Matthews, five miles farther; . . . Here we are at the Mission. We dismount for a few minutes to take some refreshment and let our horses breathe. The (I blush a little) Milk Punch was excellent; and now we are off again, cross a deep gulch with a fine stream of water running through it . . .[37]

Meanwhile, what had become of the Indians? A few references to them appear in United States court records of land disputes. Angel Alviso, testifying in 1869, estimated that at the time of mission secularization (1834 or 1835) there were 300 Indians at San Mateo. A few years later, he said, there were only 50 or 60. Alviso's father, José Antonio, testified the same year, giving his age as 76: "The Priests of the Mission built the house near the creek – They had grain in it and a chapel to say mass – one part a granary and the other a chapel. The Indians lived in a part of the house — in the granary." However, he explained, after "the priests no longer had their temporalities [i.e., after the mission was secularized] it was occupied by the departed souls for it was left empty."[38]

De Peyster says that when he came to the place there was some land enclosed and cultivated by Indians. "There was an Indian Rancheria on the place about a mile and a half back South west from the adobe buildings among the hills."[39] This is corroborated by other witnesses and by early American settlers in San Mateo.[40]

We know that during the 1830's and early 1840's, while all the other choice land up and down the Peninsula was being granted by the Mexican governors to various persons, San Mateo, though applied for and much coveted, was held in reserve because of the Indians who lived there. It was thought the Mexican Government might adopt a policy of dividing certain former mission lands among the erstwhile neophytes.[41]

Not until the very eve of the American conquest (1846) was Rancho San Mateo granted to Arenas by Governor Pio Pico in far-off Los Angeles, who probably knew nothing of local circumstances or of former actions regarding this land, since the government archives were in Monterey.

These Indians at that time were already a vanishing race, and while a few were still on the land when it became private property, they have long since disappeared.

Under the American regime, on one side of the adobe grew up the Howard mansion, on the other St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, and across the creek the new town of San Mateo.

The end of our building's history is easier to determine than its beginning.[42] Americans were mildly curious about it, mentioned it sometimes as a landmark, and used it, if at all, for storing hay. Then came another earthquake. In 1868 the adobe was so badly damaged by the disastrous shock of that year that it had to be demolished for safety's sake. The site was cleared of all debris.[43]

The tiles from the roof were piled near a shed on the Howard property where they remained for many years. Some of them were acquired for use on one of the buildings in San Francisco's Midwinter Fair of 1894, together with others brought from Mission San Antonio. When, in the following spring, the Burlingame railway station was built, among the tiles used on the roof of its south wing were some from the Midwinter Fair, and there they are today. Later some five hundred more of the tiles remaining on the Howard place were taken for use in repairing the roof of Mission Dolores in San Francisco. The rest of them, some five hundred more, chanced to be on a portion of the Howard land that was bought for a home and are still the cherished property of the owner.

The story of this San Mateo adobe is local history, but it is something more as well, for it serves also to point up the expansive and thorough work of the California missions. Here was a large and substantial structure built, like the buildings at the mission headquarters, of adobes and burnt tiles, but nearly twenty miles away. The work was done, of course, by natives who but a short time before had been in a low level of savagery and allergic to any kind of labor.

Constructed under the flag of Spain, the building stood through the Mexican regime and for over twenty years after the American occupation. Were it not for earthquakes, it might well be standing yet. But it left its mark: the old road that swung past it — the Mission Trail, alias the County Road, alias El Camino Real, alias U. S. 101 — still makes a long curve, now quite needless. around the spot where it stood.

NOTES

1. *Map of Part of the San Mateo Rancho Belonging to the Estate of W. D. M. Howard, Surveyed and drawn by Alfred Poett, C.E.*, 1866 (traced copy in the Museum of the San Mateo County Historical Association, San Mateo Junior College). The location of the building has been further verified by excavations on the site.

2. Frank Merriman Stanger, ed., "Letters of an Artist in the Gold Rush," this Quarterly, XXII (September 1943), 235-52.

3. Rexford Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925), pp. 194-98.

4. Document No. 220 in "Documentos para la historia de California, Archivo particular del Sr. Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo" (MSS photostated in Bancroft Library), Vol. 31, pp. 593-622. The complete translation of the section of the inventory covering "Rancho San Mateo" is given herewith. Uncertain portions of the translation, due to bad spelling and unintelligible handwriting, are enclosed in parentheses with a question mark. No attempt has been made to correct errors in the financial calculations.

1	Run-down house, 41 by 13 varas (with ten rooms?), adobe walls, dirt floor, roofed with tile; seven doorways, three of them with doors; fourteen windows, one with shutters and thirteen with *rejas* of common wood; one upper story with open doorways [i.e., openings in the ceiling], with [formed by a] ceiling of boards that serves as an upper floor, with seven windows with *rejas* of common wood; one porch 41 by 2 varas, with pillars of wood, dirt floor, roofed with tile; all valued at two thousand one hundred pesos	2,100.0
1	House in ruins, 28 by 7 varas, with (three rooms?), adobe walls without windows, dirt floor, roofed with tile, all valued at three hundred pesos	300.0
846	Feet of lumber	034.2
35	Fanegas [56 bushels] of wheat at 2 pesos	070.0
145	" [232 bushels] of barley at 12 reales	172.4
10	" [16 bushels] of salt at 12 reales	015.0
1	Barrel for water	002.0
1	Crow Bar	002.4
8	Hitching posts at 6 reales	006.0
4	Plows at 20 reales	010.0
1	(Garden?) with wood fence, 64 varas at 2 reales	016.0
1	Corral with rough wood fence forming a circle of 97 varas	024.2
2,125	Sheep at 6 reales per head	1,593.2
		4,346.2

5. In the Old Mission at Santa Barbara, where Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt wrote his famous *Missions and Missionaries of California*, there is a memorandum in Father Engelhardt's handwriting which contains the following: "(1776) At San Mateo was a *grande casa* where there was a mission chapel of San Francisco (Dolores)." This would seem at first to indicate that Father Engelhardt believed the first building at San Mateo was erected in 1776, simultaneously with the first buildings at Dolores. However, the evidence is not conclusive, and the source of his information is not known. Circumstances in general make this early date practically impossible.

6. Moraga's diary in Herbert E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), III, 412-13. See also Father Palóu's account in the same volume.

7. Fray Francisco Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, edited by Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), IV, 135.

8. Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Francisco or Mission Dolores* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924), p. 262.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84.

12. State Papers, Missions and Colonization (transcripts from Archivo de California, in Bancroft Library, University of California), I, pp. 391-94.

13. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

14. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World . . . in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795 . . . Under the Command of Captain George Vancouver* (London, 1801), III, 27-29.

15. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

17. Report of José Argüello to Governor, State Papers, Missions and Colonization (transcript from Archivo de California, Bancroft Library), *loc. cit.*

18. State Papers, Missions (transcripts from Archivo de California, in Bancroft Library), II, pp. 742-43.

19. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), IV, 78; and George D. Louderback, "The Reputed Destructive Earthquake of January 16-18, 1840," in *Bulletin* of the Seismological Society of America, XXXIV (April 1944), 103-7.

20. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84.

21. Edward S. Holden, "A Catalogue of Earthquakes on the Pacific Coast, 1769 to 1897," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, No. 1087 (Washington, D. C., 1898, pp. 31-34.

22. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84.

23. For statistics see Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-71. According to mission reports, this mortality was due chiefly to the ravages of the "*mal galico*," or syphilis, brought in by Mexican soldiers. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

24. Annual and Biennial Reports of the Missions (MSS in Old Mission archives), Santa Barbara.

25. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84.

26. Reports of the Missions (MSS in Old Mission archives, Santa Barbara). The report for 1820 states that a tannery was erected that had three stone-and-mortar vats for calf and elk hides, and a tiled roof.

27. Deposition of José de la Cruz Sanchez in Case No. 409 N.D. (MS in Archives of U.S. District Court, San Francisco).

28. See Note 4.

29. Letter of Fray Ramon Abella to the Governor (copy in Case No. 101 N.D., U.S. District Court, San Francisco).

30. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (San Francisco, 1891), p. 70.

31. See also Note 4.

32. Frederick William Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait . . . in His Majesty's Ship Blossom . . . in the Years 1825, 26, 27, 28* (London, 1831), II, 44.

33. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 and 282-83.

34. Chester Smith Lyman, *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California 1845-1850*, edited by Frederick J. Teggart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), p. 215.

35. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* (New York, 1850), I, 122.

36. Deposition of Nicholas de Peyster in Case No. 409 N. D. (MS in Archives of the U. S. District Court, San Francisco). For De Peyster's family see Albert Welles, *American Family Antiquity* (New York, 1881), Vol. IV.

37. This QUARTERLY, XXII (September 1943), 244-45.

38. Deposition of José Antonio Alviso in Case No. 178 N. D. (MS in Archives of U. S. District Court, San Francisco).

39. Deposition of Nicholas de Peyster in Case No. 409 N. D. (MS in Archives of U. S. District Court, San Francisco).

40. See, for example, record of interview with Mrs. George W. Fox (MS in Museum of the San Mateo County Historical Association, San Mateo Junior College).

41. Depositions in Case No. 409 N. D. (U. S. District Court, San Francisco). In 1840 William E. P. Hartnell, Governor Alvarado's inspector general for the missions, recommended that the remaining neophytes of Mission Dolores, whom he had reported the year before as 80 in number and all living at San Mateo, be collected officially at San Mateo and organized into a pueblo there. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 245; and Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1897), II, 304.

42. The outpost in Pedro Valley, which was founded earlier than the one at San Mateo, also perished earlier, as shown by the property map of 1839 when San Pedro Rancho became a private land grant. On it are marked the "ruins of the building which the Mission of San Francisco formerly had." The adobe building now standing there was the home of Francisco Sanchez and was built in 1846.

43. Jerome Hamilton, "Old San Mateo Adobe Hospice" (MS in Museum of the San Mateo County Historical Association, San Mateo Junior College).

Sherman Was There

The Recollections of Major Edwin A. Sherman

With an Introduction by Allen B. Sherman

EDWIN ALLEN SHERMAN was born on August 25, 1829, in North Bridgewater (now Brockton), Plymouth County, Massachusetts. His father was Jacob Sherman and his mother, Mary Ann (Pratt) Sherman. He resided in his place of birth until six years of age when, in 1835, his parents moved to South Boston. Here he attended the Hawes Grammar School until the spring of 1843 when he left home to visit relatives in Brimfield, Peoria County, Illinois. On his return trip he began his journalistic career by reporting for newspapers in Illinois, Wisconsin, and New York; and in Boston he was employed by William Lloyd Garrison on the *Emancipator and Free American.*

In 1845, with prospect of war with Mexico, he enlisted in the United States Army. As soldier and interpreter he served with Generals William J. Worth, Zachary Taylor, and Winfield Scott, in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Vera Cruz, Matamoras, and Cerro Gordo. At Monterey and Matamoras he assisted in getting out the *American Flag,* an army newspaper made up in Mexican Government printing offices. At the siege of Vera Cruz, Sherman was wounded by the windage of a cannon-shot passing between his knees.

With the news of the discovery of gold in California, Sherman assisted in forming the Camargo Company, which sailed from Philadelphia on February 1, 1849, in the Baltimore brig *Thomas Walters* for Tampico. From there the company traveled on horseback across Mexico by way of San Luis Potosí, Guadalajara, and Tepic, to Mazatlán where the company took passage in the Peruvian bark *Fanny*, Captain Du Brodt. The vessel arrived in San Francisco on May 24, 1849.

After the dissolution of the company, Sherman proceeded to Sacramento and thence to Rose's Bar on the Yuba River, where he mined until the fall. In January 1850, during the great flood, he went by sea to San Pedro and San Diego, and with others purchased horses and returned to Sacramento where they were disposed of at a large profit. In May 1850 he went to the Merced River to mine, but high waters drove his party out, causing a return to San Francisco. In July he went to Sonoma, and with a large party went to Clear Lake, fought Indians, and recovered large bands of horses and cattle the owners of which had been murdered. In December 1850 he returned to Sonoma, and in 1852 he was elected city clerk of the Common Council under Mayor Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. He also assisted in editing the Sonoma *Bulletin.* In January 1854 he returned to his home in South Boston, Massachusetts.

Later that same year, with John C. Frémont, Sherman returned to California via Panama, and the following year he was elected county surveyor of Sacramento County, which office he held for two years. During this time, and for a few years afterward in connection with a private land office business, he was frequently engaged in the translation of papers relating to land grants, and assisted in the preliminary location and surveys of many of the grants. In 1860 he purchased the printing office of the San Bernardino *Herald* and published the *Patriot,* a Union paper, using the Ames Press (now in the Henry Ford Museum at Dearborn, Michigan).[1] Later he moved the press to Aurora, Nevada, and published the Esmeralda *Star,* also a Union sheet.

In 1863 Sherman was elected state controller of Nevada. In 1862 Governor Leland Stanford, of California, had commissioned him major of engineers on the staff of Brigadier General Alexander Malcolm Dobbie, and he was made military instructor of the National Guard of California for the state at large, it being placed on a war footing to suppress rebellion. Sherman was in New York City at the time of the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, on April 14, 1865, and served as marshal of the Pacific Division of States and Territories in the great funeral procession in that city on April 25.

In 1866 he returned to Austin, Nevada, as superintendent of the New York & Austin Silver Mining Company. In December 1869 he resigned, went to White Pine, and located the site of Shermantown. In 1874 he was appointed town surveyor of Gold Hill, Nevada, and also deputy United States mineral surveyor, which offices he held until 1877 when he resigned and removed to San Francisco. In June 1883 he took up residence in Oakland, California, where he remained for the remainder of his career as mining expert, author,[2] and contributor to San Francisco newspapers and magazines.

Sherman's life was an exemplification of an unrelenting devotion to country and to freedom, even to the neglect and sacrifice of personal interest. The author's passing on March 17, 1914, ushered in a new era of like sacrifice but unprecedented in scope for the cause of freedom.

The original manuscript of Major Sherman's recollections, written in the first part of the present century from notes made earlier, is contained in six tablets of heavy paper, written on one side, in ink. It is divided into five parts: 1. His boyhood around Boston; 2. The Mexican War; 3. His journey in 1849 across Mexico, from Tampico to Mazatlan; 4. California during the Gold Rush period; 5. The author's second visit to California and the conclusion of his career. We are omitting the first and second parts and begin here with Part 3:

From May until November 1848 I was kept on the go, telling the same "old, old story" about "Old Rough and Ready," throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, until General [Zachary] Taylor was elected; and was then going to start in again to learn a trade, when it was all knocked in the head, for the news of the GREAT DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA, BY JAMES MARSHALL, broke it all up. I went to the United States Mint in Philadelphia and saw what had been sent there, and immediately determined to start for California. I did not want to go by the Isthmus of Panama, for it was too costly and uncertain. To cross the continent and have to fight Indians and to rough it my health would not permit; and I was not such a lover of salt water and stale provisions as to take the long trip of six months around the Horn.

So I started to organize a company to be called the "Camargo Company," to take a sailing vessel to the mouth of the Rio Grande, thence go by steamboat to Camargo, cross Mexico to Mazatlan, and then proceed up the coast and enter California from the south, or take a ship from Mazatlan to San Francisco.

In December 1848 and January 1849, I organized a company three times. Most of the first took passage in the bark *Louisiana*,[3] and a part of the second in the *Grey Eagle*, to go around the Horn, the latter sailing January 1, 1849.[4] Although my youth was against me, I was pertinacious, and in January perfected my company by making them put up their money, to be forfeited by any who backed out. On account of the "Buffalo Hunters" of Texas, said to be a marauding party for the invasion of the State of Tamaulipas, we changed the line of our route to Tampico, thence to San Luis Potosi, Guadalajara, Tepic and Mazatlan.

There were about ten blacksmiths, who fortunately were horseshoers, and I had them make half a dozen pairs of small sized horseshoes, to be given to each man; for the Mexican horses and mules were smaller than ours. I took the name and personal description of each man, went to Washington and obtained from James Buchanan, Secretary of State, our passports; and from Mr. Rosas [Luis de la Rosa], the Mexican Minister, the permit to carry arms across Mexico. I also had letters to deliver to his family at San Luis Potosi.

I returned [to Philadelphia] and completed the arrangements for the Baltimore clipper brig, *Thomas Walters*, to take our party of fifty-three to Tampico. A part of the company went on board two days before we sailed. On Saturday morning, February, 3, 1849, the lines were cast off from Arch Street Wharf, where we parted from our relatives and friends, returning the cheers of the crowd, and sailed down the Delaware River. There being a gale blowing outside, we anchored off Wilmington, Delaware, where some went ashore. . . . The next morning we entered the Atlantic Ocean but the wind died down, leaving long heavy swells, worse than a rough sea. We had divine service in the forenoon, for we had two ministers with us, Rev. James Woods[5] and Charles M. Blake;[6] but in the afternoon, for fun, we fished for sharks and, hauling them on board tied small pieces of boards to their tails and turned them loose again into the sea, with their heads down to think of their latter ends.

After a week's sail, we arrived off the island of Abaco, and from an island near by got a lot of watermelons brought off to us in a sailboat. On the 23d day of February 1849, we arrived off the mouth of the Tampico River. A stern-wheel steamboat came out to meet us and piloted us over the bar and up the river, where we anchored off the City of Tampico. There we were boarded by the custom house officers and our American consul, who were surprised to see so many with arms on board the vessel. But after our passports and the permit to carry arms were examined and *viséd*, we all left the vessel, and rented a large house with a court-yard, for two weeks, until we could make our arrangements to cross Mexico.

At Tampico an episode of the Mexican War had occurred that is not generally known. The war having commenced, and the ports of Mexico being blockaded, the functions of our consuls ceased, and as individuals they had to seek the protection of other consulates or leave the country. Our consul, Mr. [Franklin] Chase, left Tampico, but his wife remained to look after their private property. While so doing, as there were a number of our own naval vessels lying off Tampico, she took her boat one night and pulled out over the bar, at the mouth of the Tampico River, to one of our vessels of war and piloted them in.[7] Tampico was taken without firing a shot, and the Mexicans abandoned the fort. For her patriotism and courage, the officers and men of the squadron presented her with a fine set of silverware. We called upon her while there and paid our respects.

General [R. Diaz de] La Vega, whom we captured at the battle of Resaca de la Palma and who was sent as a prisoner of war to New Orleans and, for his bravery, royally treated more as a guest than a prisoner, was in command at Tampico when we arrived. We went in a body and paid our respects to him also. He treated us very kindly, and gave me a letter to Colonel Bermudez and other Mexican army officers on the route. Bermudez was a brave officer and a courteous gentleman.

We had to be busy in regard to our outfit. I found a lot of cavalry saddles and bridles sufficient for our whole company that during the war had been ordered for the Texans, but not being of their style, though they were splendid saddles with horns, had been condemned and sold at public auction at Tampico at the close of the war. The Mexicans would not use them, and I bought them for our company at two dollars apiece. Even at that, the man who had them doubled his money.

After due investigation of how to proceed in making our start for the long journey of a little more than a thousand miles across Mexico, we learned that an American from Ohio, by the name of Lafler,[8] who many years before had bought a ranche up the Panuco River, about twenty miles above Tampico, and settled there, had both horses and mules, and we sent for him. He came down and made arrangements to take us all, with our baggage, up to his ranche. So on the morning of Monday, the fifth of March, 1849, after drinking to the health of General La Vega, the alcalde of Tampico, and our consul, we started in a small fleet of bungoes for Lafler's ranche. But at noon we all drank a toast to the new President of the United States, General Zachary Taylor, who was then being inaugurated, and we gave three hearty cheers that were heard far up and down the river, while we helped on the oars until we arrived at Lafler's ranche late in the afternoon. There the people were waiting for us with good prepared food, ready to be eaten; and as we had our own blankets, we were comfortably provided for.

We bought thirty-five saddle horses from Lafler and his neighbors, and some twenty pack mules, which was all we could get there. This of necessity left about twenty of our party on foot. To obviate that difficulty we arranged that each man should ride two hours and walk one. The saddle horses and mules had never been shod. So all had to pitch in, help to throw and hold the animals, and the shoes were fitted to their feet and driven on cold.

This was lively business, testing Christian patience, endurance and muscle. The ministers did not swear, while trying to hold the horses' and mules' legs, but would repeat very vehemently, "Je-hos-a-phat!" Others would use only the first syllable with another termination to their expletives, while the majority would exclaim, without substitute, just the plain words "Damn it!" – all of which helped to get the shoes on, and all the horses and mules became astonished high steppers.

After being there ten days, with the bell mare and our guide leading, we commenced our march to Valle de Mais, a small town which we reached in three days. There the news was confirmed that a revolution, led by one Lutero on the Rio Verde, had gained such strength that, in order to avoid it, it would be necessary for us to take a narrow Indian trail, with an Indian guide, over the high Sierra Madre. We began to climb range after range toward the snows and the skies. Now we found it necessary to have a sort of regulated military system of government, in standing guard, watching our animals, and in securing and providing food. We first chose our treasurer with the distinct understanding that no single individual should purchase anything on his own account, that prices should not be raised on us, and that all should pay, do duty and share alike. As I was the only one who could talk Spanish, I was necessarily the leader or captain, while they chose two others to act as lieutenants. We hired half a dozen

Mexican *arrieros,* or muleteers, to attend to the mules and pack our baggage. I would employ guides from time to time, as we went from one place to another, and pay them at the end of their part of the journey. Usually I would take the new guide and two of my company and go on ahead to the place where we had to stop at noon, or camp at night, and make arrangements for the food to be got ready to be eaten when the company arrived, as well as fodder for our horses and mules. This I did, by going at once to the alcalde, prefect, or *jefe-de-policía* of the small town or hamlet where we were to rest. The result was, there was no delay for tired, hungry men or beasts. They all received the very best to be had; but chickens, eggs, and beef or mutton, with tortillas and frijoles, formed our chief diet, spiced with red peppers, onions, and just a hint of garlic. . . .

But we pushed on up, higher and higher, among the snow and the clouds, our breath growing shorter. At last we reached the summit or backbone of the Sierra Madre, or "mother of mountains." . . . Here our Indian guide left us. He dared not go any further, as he would be trespassing upon the territory of another Indian tribe, and that would cause a war. Fortunately, at the last place we had provided ourselves with three days' provisions.

As we began to descend, we had to go along on the narrow trail, worn into the escarpment of the side of the mountain, at a dizzy height, thousands of feet above the bottom of a deep gorge, and were like flies or ants, crawling slowly down along the side of a wall and an awful precipice equal to the Yosemite. . . . At times it looked as if men and animals were stepping on air. At last we were relieved by coming down to a high plateau, covered with tall, heavy pine trees, where there was plenty of good grass and water and where our party had good luck in shooting five fat buck deer. . . . We remained there one day and two nights to give all a good rest.

We then resumed our journey slowly down the mountains, passing Indians' huts, the occupants of which fled at our approach. At the end of another day, where there was good grass and water we halted for the night. . . . The next morning, after a couple of hours ride we came to the lowest bench of the range and beheld a fine, fertile country immediately below us, extending as far as our eyesight could reach, and a small town about five miles in front of us.

Taking two of my company with me, I rode ahead and went direct to the house of the alcalde, who at first was frightened, as well as the rest of the people and all the dogs. . . . They could not believe we had crossed the Sierra Madre and passed safely through the country of the most hostile Indians in that part of Mexico. I asked the alcalde to have his people immediately get *comida* (dinner) ready for sixty people, and told him we would pay for it. He went at once to the church and saw the priest, who sent his servant to jangle the bells, and the whole town turned out. Feathers soon began to fly and eggs to assemble; a steer was killed, soups soon were boiling, and *frijoles* (beans) cooking. . . . I secured a large corral where our animals could be watered and fed, and a long building in which we could place our baggage and sleep. Small crates of oranges and bananas were brought in; and when the company arrived and had unloaded and fed their animals, and washed, men, women, and children came bringing cooked food. The broiled strings of beef on sticks, smelling savory, tasted particularly good.

I told the alcalde that we wanted to buy twenty-five good saddle-horses and, if he wanted to make a little profit, to send out to the ranches and have them brought in at once. Soon the young men of the town who had horses were scurrying in every direction out to the ranches in the valley; and by the next morning, the owners came riding in, leading the horses they had to sell. Some were bought for as little as twenty dollars, and the very highest at a doubloon and a half (twenty-four dollars). We had them branded and helped shoe them. Bills of sale were signed, endorsed by the alcalde, and witnessed by the priest. Our new horses, food and fodder, and what we paid the alcalde and gave to the priest, amounted to about seven hundred dollars. We had good food for ourselves, good feed for our animals, all had a good rest, and all had good horses to ride, including our muleteers, and we had the good will of the people. . . .

We had an early lunch the next day, saddled up and rode on, taking a new guide with us to the next town, a little more than eight leagues, about twenty-five miles. Now that all were mounted, we could travel faster. I took two of the company and the new guide with me and rode ahead pretty fast to the next town, reaching there two hours ahead of the company. It was a large town and had a hotel in it; but I went first to the alcalde and told him who we were, and that we wanted accommodations for our men and animals. He went with me to the hotel and saw the landlord, who agreed to provide supper and breakfast for us and food for our animals at a dollar and a quarter a head, or seventy dollars all told. The bargain was made, the bill was made out, witnessed by the alcalde, and receipted, and we gave him about five dollars for his trouble.

A little after dark, the company all came up and were conducted into the courtyard, where, after dismounting and washing, all sat down to a sumptuous meal and then attended to our animals, which were fed with barley hay and corn. An impromptu fandango or ball was gotten up for our benefit, and the landlord did not lose by it. The next morning we were up very early and had about thirty miles travel to reach San Luis Potosi. Partaking of a good breakfast, we traveled over a wide level country where there was plenty of game no wilder than ordinary unbroken cattle—deer and antelope in abundance; hares, rabbits and quails in profusion. About one o'clock in the afternoon we saw ahead in the distance, the domes and towers of the cathedral, churches, and public buildings of San Luis Potosi. The cactus or prickly pear began to be very much in evidence at fully two leagues from the city. I met a Mexican with a pole, for which I gave him a Mexican quarter of a dollar, tore up an old white shirt and fastened it to the pole, to be unrolled in case a flag of truce should be needed, and gave it to Mr. James Wallace to carry. When we reached the suburbs a panic seized the entire population and they fled in every direction. Soon the bells in San Luis Potosi were clanging away furiously in alarm. We slowed down until all the company came up in a compact body.

The white flag was displayed and we continued slowly on. In about half an hour we saw coming a regiment of lancers, several pieces of artillery, and a large force of infantry with fixed bayonets in battle array. As they came charging down toward us I shook a white handkerchief, and they halted. An officer rode up to me, demanding to know who we were and where we were from. I replied that we were from the city of Philadelphia in the United States, on our way to California; that we had our passports and the permit of the Mexican Minister Rosas to carry arms for our protection across Mexico; that I had letters from the Minister to his family in San Luis Potosi, and also from General La Vega, at Tampico, to Colonel Bermudez, of the Mexican Army, *en route*. He enquired how we came. . . . I replied that we had come over the trail of the Sierra Madre, which he could hardly believe. He returned to the officer in command. The lancers turned and escorted us in, and the artillery and infantry followed us.[9]

We were thus guests in peace, or prisoners of war, according to the conditions and circumstances. We passed more troops drawn up, whom we saluted, and then were conducted to the palace of the governor of the state of San Luis Potosi, where we were received in state by him, the alcalde, and the prefect of police, with all the politeness, dignity and etiquette which such an occasion as this presented and which seemed quixotic. I presented our passports and permit to carry arms and also showed the letters I was to present to Minister Rosas' family and to Colonel Bermudez, all of which were considered satisfactory. In a few moments the troops marched in review and departed for their quarters, we saluting them as they passed.

I thanked the governor and the other officers for receiving us with such distinguished honors, and as we were entire strangers in their city, asked that they please direct us where our company and animals might be provided for, at our expense. We were told to wait where we were. In half an hour the prefect who had gone to investigate returned and, accompanied by a few police armed with sabres, we were taken about a quarter of a mile from the main plaza to a large empty building, with a fine courtyard and a high stone-walled corral for our animals, with water running through it. Here we dismounted and placed our saddles, baggage and rifles in a large room, with a guard over them, retaining our pistols in our belts. One of our men was stationed inside of the great door as a guard.

Here I instructed our men to comply strictly with the customs of the country and take off their hats when passing a church, or they would get into difficulty and be assaulted with stones, if nothing worse. I told them also to keep together, and not to be out after dark; for the animosity of the Mexicans had not died out, and it was from this city of San Luis Potosi that Santa Anna had mainly recruited his army that was so badly beaten by General Taylor at Buena Vista.

There was always a curious crowd around the main entrance to watch us as we came and returned. . . . We were detained there ten days but lost nothing by it.

The inhabitants had not learned of the discovery of gold in California; and that we had crossed the Sierra Madre was a miracle to them. And strange as it may seem, no one in that city had ever heard of or seen a daguerreotype! Taking the two brothers, Hosea B. and Allen E. Grosh,[10] daguerreotypists with me, I called on the governor and had them show him the daguerreotypes, taken in Tampico, of General La Vega and others, and told him that if he would sit for them, we would be very much pleased. He was delighted as well as surprised. The Groshes looked for a back room in which they could fix up a dark closet for their chemicals – quicksilver, bromide, and iodine for development – then back for their camera and fixings. When they returned, the governor sat for his picture. It was successful from the start, and when the daguerreotype was finished and put in a fine case, he was in ecstasy, and was still more astonished when it was presented to him. He then had daguerreotypes taken of his whole family, which he insisted on paying for. The Groshes had such a run of business that their stock of plates and chemicals was exhausted. At the drug stores they could procure only a limited supply of the chemicals. The governor wanted to know what the plates were made of. On being told that they were made of thin copper, plated with silver, he asked, "What is to prevent more being made entirely of silver?" Being informed that there was nothing to prevent but the expense, he sent for the druggists in the city to supply what chemicals they could and set the silversmiths to hammering and rolling out silver plates, cutting them up and polishing them. The Grosh brothers were kept hard at it for a whole week, until the chemicals were entirely exhausted and they had to close business.

I called on Minister Rosas' family and was most gladly and graciously received; also by Colonel Bermudez, to whom I presented General La Vega's letter, which he endorsed.

We then, in a body, were shown through the city and visited the costly cathedral and other churches. In one, on one side there was the cave-stable at Bethlehem: Mary, the Virgin Mother, and babe; Joseph and the Wise Men, life size; and at one end a live ass, eating out of a manger. We being wise men too, gave a contribution to the exhibit.

While here we saw across the street, Riley,[11] the deserter from our army, whom we had captured with seventy others at Churubusco and who had been tried by court martial but escaped hanging by deserting just before hostilities commenced. He was branded with the letter D on the right cheek and released only when our army left Mexico on July 12, 1848. He had had the scar defaced by having it burned larger, as if he had been burned by accident. He evidently wanted to speak to some of us, but hatred mixed with shame prevented him.

We had been at San Luis Potosi a full week when the prefect came and informed me that the governor wanted to see me. I went with him to the governor's palace. Talking confidentially with me, the governor said that there were a dozen or more wealthy families who wanted to return or go to Guadalajara, but hesitated from doing so because the roads were so full of banditti calling themselves "*revolutionistas*" whose sole object was plunder. As we were an armed body of men, he asked if they might travel under our protection. He said that they had their own carriages, mules, and servants to drive them, and that they would be at no expense or trouble to us. I said that I would consult my company first, and let him know. The company were favorable, but thought it best to be safe. We wanted to see the servants first. There were about forty of them. After looking them carefully over, I told the governor that the families could go along with us but their servants were not to be armed, and if there was any trouble with banditti we would protect ourselves and those who travelled with us. This gave him great satisfaction.

When we got ready to start, we asked the prefect for our bill. No charge was made for the quarters we had occupied for the ten days; and it was only about two hundred and fifty dollars, or a little more than four dollars apiece – about forty cents for each horse and mule *per diem.* . . . When all was ready, we moved out slowly toward the west side of the city, where were drawn up nearly two dozen lumbering coaches, apparently very old, filled with a few elderly men, women, and children by the score, each drawn by four mules, a driver in the saddle on each nigh mule of a span. There were no brakes to the gearing, but chains and ropes to hold the wheels when going down hill. We were introduced to them all, and they were as courteous and grateful as they could be; but our company felt as though we had been put in charge of an ancient caravan or circus. That part of the procession made us move forward a little faster than usual in our traveling; . . . and they insisted on paying all our expenses from San Luis Potosi, on the route to Guadalajara.

On the third day out, we had a long, hard trip that lasted way into the night. It was over a high rocky tableland, and a desert; and at night, very dark, we had had to trust to the horse and mule sense of our animals. We were becoming very tired and sleepy, as we slowly jogged along, when all of a sudden the mules began to bray in unison, and they came very near stampeding, but all immediately halted. The lock-chains and ropes were fastened to the wheels. Moving a little farther ahead, we came to the edge of a deep gorge, and looking far down in the distance, we could see the lights of the city of San Juan de los Lagos. The mules and horses had smelt the water from a mile back. We had to go very slowly, feeling our way down into that great crevice in the tableland. Soon more lights began to shine, and just as we reached the bottom several Mexican gentlemen came up and greeted us and the party we were escorting. We were then conducted through several streets to a large building with an immense courtyard, where full preparations had been made to receive us. We were all very much exhausted; but a French merchant in the place was so overjoyed to see us that the very first thing we must do was to take a drink of fine old cognac brandy that he had kept for many years. One of our company, a Mr. Chevalier, also a Frenchman, was hugged and kissed as though he had been a long lost brother. We all enjoyed the good supper waiting for us, and then saw that our animals were well fed and watered. With candles, we went and examined the high walls of the corral and the premises, closing and barring the great door of the entrance and placing a guard there. It was well that we did so, for in half an hour a large company of mounted, armed Mexicans, came riding into town from the opposite direction, which put all the people in a panic. The alcalde and principal men of the town came to us and wanted to place their money in our keeping, fearing that they would be robbed. They said that the next day would be Good Friday, that the Mexican Government never moved its troops on that day, and that these men were evidently banditti who would rob the town.

The only thing for us to do then was to comply with their request. We divided ourselves into three watches, for guard-duty during the night, and let no one in or out until eight o'clock the next morning. The company of mounted, armed Mexicans left at daylight for parts unknown. We had to remain there on Good Friday and Saturday. That afternoon we saw the effigy of Judas Iscariot fastened on an unwilling, vicious mule. The mule was blindfolded and the effigy filled with fire works. These were lighted, the blindfold quickly removed, and, the fireworks exploding, the mule went off in a blaze of glory, everybody stoning him to get the poor devil started. Certainly he left no posterity to mourn his departure or make complaint to a humane society.

On Sunday, after church, we were given a fine feast by the alcalde and people who wanted to pay us money, but we refused it.

At two o'clock in the afternoon we moved out with our caravan and travelled about eighteen miles to a small town, where the supplies were limited and a double guard had to be maintained. After three days' travel, at nearly sundown we arrived at the fine city of Guadalajara,[12] where ample accommodations had been provided for us and our animals. We now were the guests of those whom we had escorted, and of their relatives and friends, and we had to remain there nearly a week.

Guadalajara, to which I shall recur later on, was a fine city, and it was said that there were more of its people having pure Spanish blood in their veins, in proportion to its population, than in any other city in Mexico. It was a place of considerable importance in 1620, and had then been established seventy years before our Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. We visited the fine cathedral, places of note, and an American colored gentleman who had been a Southern officer's servant in our army during the Mexican War, and who, preferring freedom to slavery, had remained in Mexico after the war. He had made money, was well to do, and was delighted to show us around. He longed to return to the United States but was afraid of being returned to his master.

There was one Mexican general afterwards at Guadalajara who had been considerable of a "road agent" but rose to eminence by saving the people of that city from a general massacre by the united tribes of hostile Indians, whom he defeated in a great battle – General Corona. He had mainly to depend upon his artillery. He had sufficient powder and balls, but no cloth of any kind to make bags for cartridges. In his extremity, he adopted an ingenious device: . . . he had his soldiers cut off the legs of their pants just above the knees, and had cartridge bags made of the parts cut off. He consequently won an overwhelming victory over the Indians and broke their power.

Before the week expired we had saddled up and were on our way to the city of Tepic. On the second day out from Guadalajara we came to the town of Tequila, which was a station for a considerable body of Mexican troops. Before going to pay our respects to the commander to whom I had to show our pass and our letters, I saw a very strange sight upon a hill, a few hundred yards from the road . . . There were two upright posts as high as ordinary telegraph poles, and a painted sign, about twenty feet long, nailed to the posts. Immediately below the sign, dangling and turning with the wind, hung three men, in white clothing, suspended by their necks, with stains of blood on their left breasts. The sign was painted white, and on it in black letters, "*Asi la ley, castiga la ladrone y asesino.*"

In English it would read, "Thus the law punishes the robber and assassin." Just then a Mexican officer rode up, and I asked him the occasion of this execution. He said there was a large band of highwaymen who infested the roads near there, who would attack and plunder the large pack-trains, from the coast, and it was difficult to capture them. But finally they attacked a very large, rich train, killed some of the men, and even several priests who were travelling with it. Then the whole country was aroused. . . . They learned who the robbers were and their haunts, and troops were sent out after them, from every direction. They were hemmed in at the *Barrancas*, a fight ensued, and many escaped. But the captain and two lieutenants of the banditti, one of whom was the captain's son, were captured, tried by court martial and sentenced to death by shooting and hanging. They were shot standing with the ropes around their necks and hanged while they were struggling. I asked why they shot them first and hanged them afterwards. The officer replied, "They were shot to satisfy the military law, and hanged for the civic law!"

I went with him to the commanding officer, showed our passes and letters. He said he was afraid we would be attacked at the *Barrancas* and offered to furnish us an escort. I thanked him, but said that I thought we were able to defend ourselves.

We pushed on a few miles, until we came to the much talked of and dreaded *Barrancas*, and stood by the immense rent through the high tableland, about a third or half a mile wide and several thousand feet deep, with a zigzag course down the side, for us to descend.

I divided my company into two divisions, I going with the first, our pack mules following in the middle, and the second division bringing up in the rear. . . . It took an hour and a half to reach the bottom. A stream of water flowed along its rocky bed; and after tightening our saddle girths and filling up our gourd canteens, we rode along about two hundred yards and came to a stone house, said to have been the rendezvous of the robbers. Then came the long ascent up the other side of this immense cañon where the road was only wide enough for one mule to pass, with occasional turnouts. Strange to say, this narrow road was well paved with cobble stones, and a breast wall over two feet wide and three feet high was built with stone and cement, all the way up, to prevent people and animals from falling off. It was a wonderful piece of masonry. At some places one could look down thousands of feet perpendicularly, and when a stone was dropped one's head would become dizzy while waiting for it to stop; and looking far up above, it seemed as though the mountain was trying to crowd us over the precipice — a most unpleasant feeling. After much laborious climbing we at last came to the top and out into the high mountainous table land.

Resting our animals a little by dismounting, we were again in the saddle and passed a few Mexicans going the route we came. We had not gone more than two miles, when one of our party, Mr. Thomas Spear,[13] discovered he had lost his pistol; but as it was a "pepper box," an Allen's revolver, the whole barrel revolving when the trigger was pulled, and dangerous to the person using it, we deemed it not worth while to go back for it. We rode about a mile farther, when, happening to look back, I saw a Mexican on foot, making signs very frantically, and looking back frequently in great terror. I rode up to him and saw that he was dragging something with a long string nearly a hundred feet behind him. It was Spear's "pepper box." I picked it up and saw that all the shots had been fired out of it. The Mexican dropped on his knees and prayed to the Mother of God and all the Saints to bless me if I would only take that terrible thing out of the country. It had shot him in the calf of the leg, wounded his jackass in the shoulder, and he had a long way to go to get home. We took up a collection at once for his benefit – more than enough to pay for his jackass; and after all, excepting for his bodily suffering and that of his *burro*, Spear's "pepper box" to him was a blessing in disguise.

Travelling a few miles farther, we came to a horrible stretch of tableland covered with great boulders, nearly nine miles, and had to turn and twist in the narrow trail that seemed to be an endless labyrinth. Some of those boulders were from six to eight feet high. What terrible cataclysm must have occurred in long ages past to have deposited them over that vast field! But there was another object of great astonishment and conjecture. . . . When half way across we came to a long brass cannon, a thirty-two pounder, that had been abandoned. . . . Simply the metal cannon and no more. There it was, and in all probability, it is there today. We twisted and turned until our spines seemed to be but corkscrews, until we got out of that Devil's pasture onto good ground again and reached a small town. There we got corn and cornstalks to feed our animals, but limited food for ourselves – only frijoles and tortillas for that night, but we were lucky to get even that much. We had to take up several holes in our belts the next morning and go without breakfast. Taking three of our party with me, I rode on very fast to another and much larger town. I went to the alcalde as usual and had the whole town prepare lunch for us and bring fodder for our hungry and tired animals. . . . After resting a couple of hours, we pushed on and arrived at a large hacienda owned by an Englishman, long settled in the country, who provided well for our wants. Among other things, one that was exceedingly palatable just then was some good old English ale. . . . Even our reverend gentlemen companions, in the absence of wine, "took it for the stomach's sake." The Englishman was generous and did not want to take any pay for what he had furnished us.

We started on the next morning, and about ten o'clock in the forenoon a wilder and more pleased body of Americans was never seen. In the distance we saw a large building, a cotton manufactory,[14] and a lot of

American, English, Scotch and Irish girls, operatives who came out to the road, to give us a welcome greeting and offered us refreshments. Even our reverend companion, Charles M. Blake, was loath to leave and repeated a verse of one of Dr. Watts "Select Hymns,"

My willing soul would stay
In this place of earthly bliss
And sit and sing itself away
In such everlasting bliss

or words to that effect.

Being well refreshed, we again mounted and rode on till late in the afternoon when we arrived at the city of summer resorts for the people along the shores of the Pacific, the salubrious CITY OF TEPIC.

Tepic, which is up in the *tierra templada* (temperate land), was a very fine town, the summer residence of the merchants and wealthy people of Mazatlan, San Blas, Manzanillo, and other towns with harbors along the shores of Western Mexico. It was far enough north not to be seriously affected by the internal troubles which occasionally disturbed the active volcano of Colima, which is a physical manifestation of the spasmodic political nature of the people of Mexico itself. The mixed blood of the Spaniard and Indian harmonizes in the mutual promotion of revolutions. "Blessed are the peacemakers"; but everybody wants to make *piece,* when they think that the fellow in office has made enough, even though *he* does not think so. Then several, who have any number of revolutions up their sleeves or in the bank, press the button, set the wheels of revolution in motion, and run it as long as they have the power. Such is the chronic constitutional condition of the country; yet it moves forward with the age of progress, and the example of its immediate northern neighbor, the United States, which gives it momentum, no matter how often the revolutions may occur. Mexico has to go along with the procession and occasionally shed its barbarism, and the new skin of civilization replaces the old that has become calloused.

Here, as it was at Perote, the currency of small change consisted of soap. At Perote, during the war, we found that the alcalde had a soap mint of his own. The soap coin consisted of small pieces of unperfumed soap, about an inch and a half square and an inch thick, a device of his own stamped on the top face. Four of these had the value of a *medio,* or half of a *real* — six and a quarter cents; and no matter how much the under side might be worn in washing, as long as the stamp was legible it passed current. When our troops received their rations of soap, counterfeit coin soon made its appearance, putting the regular soap mint out of business. Gambling with soap for money became prevalent, and when a fellow was broke, he was literally "out of soap," from whence came that now common expression of being "out of soap." At Tepic, the soap coin was a third larger than that at Perote. Small silver coin was carried in the ears, as well as in pockets; hence, in receiving that kind of money, it was essential not to put it in our mouths, when making change, without first washing it.

At Tepic we experienced the first tendency to a partial separation of the members of our company. We were only two days from the Port of San Blas and nearly a week's travel from the port of Mazatlan, our original destination (Rev. C. M. Blake, Robert Thompson[15] and three others went to San Blas and bought a schooner to sail from there; but it sprang a leak, they had to run into Cape San Lucas, where it was condemned by the Mexican Government. Reverend C. M. Blake had seven hundred miles to foot it up the long, dry peninsula of Lower California, where he arrived in a terribly destitute condition and was taken to San Francisco, on the steamer arriving on August 11, 1849. Robert Thompson and his partners were more fortunate and arrived on June 25, 1849.)[16]

After fully recuperating, we left Tepic and started on our last stretch of land travel. We fared well at several small towns through which we passed; but never will I forget the pleasure with which our eyes caught the first view of the Pacific Ocean. We were all Balboas for the moment; and how we did snuff the fresh sea breeze! Our route a part of the time now was along the shore, and then away from it again to the mountain road to avoid the lagoons.

On Sunday, April 15, 1849, we passed through the pretty town of Rosalia [Rosario], near rich silver mines. We entered it just as the people were coming out of church. The young ladies were in their best attire and gazed at us very earnestly, and we at them with great pleasure. . . . The next evening we entered the old town of Mazatlan, but not the port. This was a military post, and quite a number of troops of dismounted cavalry were there. The commanding officer took a very scrutinizing look at us, as we passed through. We stopped over night at a hamlet where our animals fared better than we did; but we did not mind that as it was to be our last night of the land journey.

We rose early the next morning, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we rode into THE CITY and PORT of MAZATLAN and found a good, commodious building for ourselves, with courtyard and corral for our animals.

There we found two large sailing vessels lying in port; the best one was a good, new, clean, Dutch-built bark, called the *Fanny*. Captain Du Brodt, sailing under Peruvian colors. We immediately struck a bargain with him to take us to San Francisco for $75.00 each, or $3,600 for the whole company.

We were followed into town by the commanding Mexican army officer, who offered us $100 a head for our animals, arms, and equipment, as all our rifles were of the same caliber and pattern and such as had been used by our Mounted Rifle Regiment in the Mexican War. We took him at his offer, which gave us $25.00 apiece more than the cost of our trip to San Francisco. Captain Du Brodt, however, reserved the cabin for a few friends, sea-captains and some special passengers coming up from down the coast. We did not care, for we had roughed it thus far and could do so the rest of the way to San Francisco.

But Bismillah! We had but just gotten our things on board and our bunks secured, when four more companies of gold-seekers from Mississippi, Louisiana, Ohio, and New York, arrived by the way of Vera Cruz and the cities of Mexico and Durango, besides nearly one hundred and fifty Mexicans all bound for California. We began to murmur, and complained to Captain Du Brodt that to crowd us in like cattle that way would not do. He told us to say nothing, and he would give us back half of our money. He did so, but he ran the price up to one hundred dollars a head. I told the members of our company that they must each stow away about twenty-five pounds of hard bread in sacks and put it in their bunks securely. They did so, and it proved a fortunate thing for us. I went into the country back of Mazatlan with Captain Du Brodt, and we bought twenty head of cattle, forty head of sheep and goats, two hundred and fifty chickens, and fifteen hogs; but there were many more two-legged ones on board. Everything was rushed. We had fifty tons of *camotes,* or sweet potatoes, one hundred sacks of beans, fifty of rice, any quantity of sugar, and a great pile of pumpkins. Every water-cask and barrel that could be got hold of was filled up with water. It was no small matter to stow everything on board, with nearly four hundred and fifty passengers. But we set sail from Mazatlan, on Monday April 23, 1849, for San Francisco, and had to sail far to the westward to get the benefit of the trade winds. Water had to be closely economized. The live stock gradually became depleted. The poultry was the first to disappear, and the sweet potatoes, with the pumpkins, shrank in size and flavor; fresh pork ceased to squeal, and mutton to bleat, and the cattle moaned less. That hungry crowd of passengers began to complain and growl, and at the end of three weeks indignation meetings were held about the food, of which there was little. Some talked of throwing the captain overboard. A break was made into the back part of the hold of the ship, and a barrel of hog's lard was found, and every man who had a Peruvian sea-biscuit as hard as a stove cover soon had "hog butter." The few cabin passengers, a little better fed in the beginning, now were the worst off and were pretty much starved. The food cooked for them did not reach its destination; the route from the cook's galley was beset by hungry highwaymen. The cabin passengers, among whom was Colonel Alexis Von Schmidt,[17] had to go to the cook's galley to get something to eat, and even then had to take chances with the others who crowded. We had more "hogs" on board than we started with, many times over. Our Philadelphia Company shared its hard bread with gentlemen acquaintances made on board.

Four weeks we had been out of sight of land, and only the navigators aboard the ship knew where we were, and lied continuously about it. Thirty days passed. There we were, shivering in cold fog; men swore we were up in the Arctic Ocean; and finally the fog lifted and we were in sight of land. Then we learned that we were thirty miles northwest of the "Golden Gate." We lay off and on, and that night being cold and chilly in the damp fog, the captain had grog, the best of French brandy, served plentifully to all on board. Nearly everybody became hilarious. Men that could sing kept up their songs, and those that could not sing just howled, roared and yelled all night. One man from Alabama who had presided at an indignation meeting and was for hanging the captain, now called repeatedly for three cheers for Captain Du Brodt. Nobody slept that night, for it was impossible.

The next morning, after filling up with rice and beans, which was all we had to eat, and rolling up our blankets and traps, everybody went on deck, with rubber necks, getting in the way of the crew that was working the ship. About nine o'clock the fog lifted. We were in sight of land and about fifteen miles north of the heads; and with a good breeze, the "Fanny" being a good sailor, about half past ten we sailed in through the Golden Gate and came to anchor about half a mile off Clark's Point of San Francisco. It was Thursday, the 24th day of May, 1849, Queen Victoria's thirtieth birthday. Flags flew from all the ships in the harbor and from the bark *Fanny* as well, and we all gave three cheers to the event we celebrated – our arrival in California.

Captain Du Brodt had to treat all hands again. Then there was a hustle to get ashore. There was no inspection of passengers by a health officer. We were fortunate in getting boats to land us, although only a part of us could be landed that day – at the northwest corner of Pine and Sansome Streets. Leaving some there to wait for the others, we fixed our camping place at the lower end of Happy Valley, about the center of Market and Sansome Streets, where we had to dig only five feet for good water. Our whole company broke up there into small congenial groups, as friendships had been formed *en route*. Our group of four was named the "Philadelphia Company"; and another one, the most quarrelsome of all, was called the "Amity and Enterprise Company."[18]

The cold fog came rolling in, while the wind and sand made everything disagreeable. Hitherto we had had somebody to rustle and cook for us; but now and hereafter we must do that for ourselves. Our little company consisted of Randolph Peters, James Wallace, Thomas Brown and myself. San Francisco then had but few houses; the great mass of the people, the newcomers, were living in tents. The hills were covered with scrub-oak and brush. At the northwest corner of Pine and Powell Streets there was a fine spring of water, and men with barrels on wheels were engaged in hauling and selling water by the bucket or barrel.

There were but few lighters to bring goods or other freight on shore. Laborers received half an ounce of gold dust, or eight dollars, a day. Mechanics and carpenters were paid double. Flour was for sale in two-hundred-pound sacks, brought from Chile; that was the principal reason for our having cold biscuits when we did not have slapjacks. There was plenty of fresh beef and good, at California prices. Sausage meat was made of beef and salt pork. A very plain meal cost a dollar. At the foot of Market Street, at low tide, we could dig clams; they all had little tails but made good chowder with the other ingredients. We chopped brushwood to make a fire to cook with; but did all of our cooking early in the morning, except making coffee and tea in the evening, for the wind and sand prevented after eleven o'clock in the morning. We did not require an ash-pan, when cleaning camp; but it was very disagreeable, and no one felt disposed to kiss the cook. The main thing to do was to learn where to go to reach the mines, not less than one hundred and thirty miles off; and we had to have a little more money for our outfit to go properly equipped for several months. But luck was with us.

It happened that a firm, Starkey, Janion & Co., that had built a considerable warehouse at Sansome and California Streets, had a large consignment of jerked beef in strings, packed in rawhide sacks, sent from Chile, that had been delivered on shore. The lighter landed it high enough at the time, but a high tide came up and wet it, spoiling the business; and when the tide went out, it left the whole high and dry. The meat soon spoiled; the flies got at it, and it was but a mass of putrefaction and maggots. It was like to breed a pestilence; and when we arrived that part of the city had been abandoned by everybody. The firm could get no one to remove the nuisance. . . . The second day after our arrival, one of the firm came to our camp and tried to get us to remove it. My partners did not want to touch it. However, my chum, James Wallace, and I took a look at it. It would not do to cover it with sand, for the tide would wash that all away. Starkey, Janion & Co. said they would furnish a lighter and give each man fifty dollars a day to lift the rawhide sacks into the lighter and then haul them a hundred yards into the bay and dump them. We looked at the dirty job, and it turned our stomachs almost to think of it. After conferring together that night, we concluded to make our own offer. We told Randolph Peters that he would have to do the cooking and have hot coffee ready day and night. We then told the firm that if they would furnish the very best of Cognac brandy, while we were doing the work, and give us each good new suits of clothes, blue woolen shirts, socks and shoes, in addition to the fifty dollars a day apiece, we would undertake the infernal job.

We struck the bargain, selected the suits of clothes we wanted, got several bottles of the very best of Cognac brandy, and, getting a long plank and some poles, prepared ourselves for a continuous forty-eight hours' foul job. Taking a pretty stiff horn apiece, we waded into the water, ran the lighter up as far as it was prudent, placed the plank in position, and two of us seizing a rawhide sack, dragged it along and up the plank into the lighter until we got a load. We then pushed out a hundred yards and, with the plank, slid the writhing, slippery mass up the inclined plane and dumped it; then hauled the lighter back again. We did this for two days and nights, working incessantly and drinking brandy and coffee, for it was impossible to eat. Then with soap and fresh water we gave each a thorough scrubbing from head to foot, throwing our soiled clothes into the bay. With our blankets, Indian fashion, around us, we then walked to Starkey, Janion & Co's warehouse, put on new clean clothes, socks and shoes, and received seventy-five dollars each, instead of fifty, for showing the disposition to work and doing the job well. We turned around and bought our supplies of them, and then, paying an ounce or sixteen dollars each, we had the privilege of working our passage by pulling an oar in a good-sized boat, all the way from San Francisco to the Embarcadero of Sutter's Fort, or Sacramento City.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. See Carl I. Wheat, ed., "The Old Ames Press – A Venerable Pioneer," this Quarterly, IX (September 1930), 193-200. This contains a letter written by Major Sherman to Messrs. Chalfant & Parker, publishers of *Inyo Independent*, and dated March 22, 1873, from Chicago, in which he gives a history of the old printing press.

2. Sherman edited and compiled *Fifty Years of Masonry in California* (San Francisco, 1898), *The Life of the Late Rear-Admiral John Drake Sloat of the United States Navy Who Took Possession of California and Raised the American Flag at Monterey on July 7th, 1846* (Oakland, 1902), *Brief History of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry for the Information of Master Masons and Brethren of the Rite* (San Francisco, 1885), *Brief History, Constitution and Statutes of the Masonic Veterans Association of the Pacific Coast with the List of Officers and the Entire Roll of Members from . . . December 27, 1878, to January 1, 1901* (Oakland, 1901). He was also author of the *History of the Joint Anniversary Celebration at Monterey, Cal., of the 110th Anniversary of the American Independence and the 40th Anniversary of the Taking Possession of California and the Raising of the American Flag at Monterey . . .* (San Francisco, 1886), and *History of the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Taking Possession of California, and Raising the American Flag at Monterey, Cal. . . . July 7th, 1846 . . . Also of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Raising of the American Flag at San Francisco, Cal., July 9, 1846 . . . Preceded by the Account of the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Raising of the Bear Flag*

at Sonoma, Cal., June 14, 1846 . . . (Oakland, Cal., 1896), as well as numerous orations and newspaper articles.

3. The bark *Louisiana* left Philadelphia on December 20, 1848, according to a newspaper clipping dated April 19, 1849. (Scrapbook, California Historical Society.) She arrived in San Francisco Bay on June 2, according to the list of "Boats arriving in San Francisco Bay from May 26, 1849, to December 30, 1849, printed in the *Quarterly* of the Society of California Pioneers, I (December 1924), 37.

4. The ship *Grey Eagle* sailed from Philadelphia on January 18, 1849, according to C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* (New York, 1890), p. 488. She arrived in San Francisco Bay on May 18, according to the *Quarterly* of the Society of California Pioneers, *loc. cit.*

5. Sherman apparently has confused the Rev. Daniel B. Woods with the Rev. James Woods, founder of the First Presbyterian Church of Stockton, who sailed from New York in May 1849 on the *Alice Tarleton.* James Woods, *Recollections of Pioneer Work in California* (San Francisco, 1878). Daniel B. Woods, author of *Sixteen Months in the Gold Diggings* (New York, 1851), was the one on the *Thomas Walters.*

6. The Rev. Charles Morris Blake, Presbyterian minister and schoolteacher from Philadelphia, was a native of Maine and a graduate of Bowdoin College. He "had in his mess Rev. Daniel B. Woods, son of Rev. L. Woods, D.D., of Andover, Mass., who took with him from the Rev. Bishop [Francis Patrick] Kendrick, of the Roman Catholic church in Philadelphia, a letter in Latin to the bishops and clergy of Mexico, and which proved an *open sesame* to the hearts and homes of Mexico, at least to Messrs. Woods and Blake, Robert Thompson and Thomas G. Spear, the poet of the Pioneers, a quartet which went by the name of the Amity and Enterprise company, and which never quarreled . . .

"But adverse fortune at last separated these friends, . . . no one vessel could be found at San Blas or Mazatlan which could take them all. The cruise of the *San Blaseña* has been made classical by the sketches published in the *Pacific News* in San Francisco in 1850; and by the polished pen of Dr. J. D. B. Stillman in the *Overland Monthly* for September, 1875. [See Note 13.] Mr. Blake left this vessel with ten others at Cape San Lucas, May 19, 1849, and reached San Diego, California, after an arduous journey over the peninsula of Lower California, on foot and on horseback, of eighty-four days, August 11, 1849. From there he went in the steamship *Panama,* Captain Bailey, with Bayard Taylor, whom he found on board, to San Francisco, which place he reached August 18, 1849. Thence he went to the mines at Rose's Bar, on the Yuba, where he laid with his own hands the stone foundations of the celebrated Yuba dam. . . . In March, 1850, he returned from the mines, and after an excursion to Merced and Mariposa, in which he first heard and wrote of Yosemite, and after a short tarry in Stockton, in which he organized the first school there, he settled in San Francisco, as associate editor with his maternal cousin, Jonas Winchester, of the *Pacific News.* . . .

"In October, 1851, Mr. Blake brought his wife and three children over the isthmus to California, and after a short stay in Grass Valley, and an exploration in Oregon, he established himself in Benicia, where he built up a fine school for boys, called the Collegiate institute . . . St. Augustine college now occupies the same site and buildings erected in 1853-4 by Mr. Blake. . . ." After several years of missionary work in Chile and as pastor of Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania, he served as a chaplain in the Civil War. He returned to California in 1869, attended medical lectures at the Toland college in 1876, and received the degree of M.D. Alonzo Phelps, *Contemporary Biography of California's Representative Men* . . . (San Francisco, 1882), II, 414-17.

7. Cf. Justin Smith, *The War with Mexico* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919), II, 279, 511.

8. The Rev. Daniel B. Woods spells the name "Laffler." Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

9. This was on March 22, according to Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

10. Hosea Ballou Grosh (or Grosch), and his brother, Ethan Allen Grosh, had sailed on the schooner *Newton*, from Philadelphia, on March 1, 1849. They were later to mine at or near Mud Springs (now El Dorado, El Dorado County), and in Gold Canyon, Nevada. To them is usually attributed the discovery of the famous Comstock Lode. C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* (New York, 1890), p. 487; Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Oakland: Thompson & West, 1881), pp. 51-54.

11. Elder J. A. Perry tells of seeing, at Puebla in the spring of 1849, "the famous *Riley*, who was cropped and branded, by order of General Scott, at the time the fifty Irish deserters were hung at Mexico. He was afterwards promoted to the office of General, by the Mexicans. He wore his hair long, to hide the marks on his cheek and ear. He stands over six foot in height, is quite social, but a miserable dissipated fellow." J. A. Perry, *Thrilling Adventures of a New Englander; Travels, Scenes, and Sufferings in Cuba, Mexico and California* (Boston, 1853), p. 22. About fifteen Americans who had deserted before the declaration of war were branded with a "D" when captured, and fifty of those (estimated at 260) who fought on the Mexican side at Churubusco were executed. Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 385.

One of the American prisoners taken by the Mexicans at Encarnacion records that on the march to San Luis Potosí in 1847 they passed "O'Reilly and his company of deserters." *Encarnacion Prisoners: Comprising an Account of the March of the Kentucky Cavalry from Louisville to the Rio Grande, together with an Authentic History of the American Prisoners . . .* (Louisville, Ky., 1848), p. 45.

12. The party arrived at Guadalajara on April 2, according to Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

13. See Note 6. Thomas G. Spear, with the Rev. Daniel B. Woods and several others of the party, after an adventurous voyage on the *San Blaseña* from Mazatlán to San José, Lower California, sailed for San Francisco on the Scottish bark *Collooney* (*Collony*, or *Colooney*), Captain Livingston, arriving on June 25. Woods, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46. See also J. D. B. Stillman, "Cruise of the *San Blaseña*," *Overland Monthly*, XV (September 1875), 241-48. Spear died in Oakland on November 5, 1879, according to the Archives of the Society of California Pioneers, IV, 81.

14. Probably the cotton factory of Barron & Forbes. See [Marvin Wheat], *Travels on the Western Slope of the Mexican Cordillera*, by Cincinnatus (San Francisco, 1857), pp. 123-35.

15. Robert Thompson, born in Maine and educated in Massachusetts, was one of the men who took passage on the *Collooney* after the *San Blaseña* had to be abandoned and arrived in San Francisco on June 25, 1849. After a few months of mining on the north fork of the American River, Thompson engaged in business in Sacramento. In 1851 he went to Calaveras County, where he became a justice of the peace and superintendent of schools. From 1863 to 1867 he practiced law in Alpine County, then came to San Francisco and there continued the practice of his profession. *The Bay of San Francisco . . . a History* (Chicago, 1892), II, 72-74. He died in Vallejo, California, on February 10, 1908, according to the Archives of the Society of California Pioneers, IV, 154.

16. See Notes 6, 13, and 15.

17. Alexis Waldemar Von Schmidt, born at Riga in 1821, came to the United States in 1827. He had come around the Horn from New York to Mazatlán in the schooner *Pleiades.* He was later to become prominent in California as a civil engineer and inventor. Among the best known of his projects are the Von Schmidt Dam below Lake Tahoe, the Spring Valley Water Works, the dry-docks at Hunter's Point, the removal of Blossom Rock from San Francisco Bay, and the survey of the California-Nevada boundary. [Society of California Pioneers] *In Memoriam: Biographical Sketch of the Life of Col. Alexis Waldemar Von Schmidt* [San Francisco, 1906].

18. See Note 6.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

June 1 to August 31, 1944

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MISS CHARLOTTE CLIFT—*History of Mendocino County, California*, San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS, SR.—*California Blue Book, 1893, 1895, 1913-1915*, Sacramento.

From MR. E. W. EHMANN—May, Earl Chapin, *The Canning Clan, a Pageant of Pioneering Americans*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

From DR. SANFORD FLEMING—Fleming, Sandford, *Ninety-five Years Beside the Golden Gate: The History of the First Baptist Church of San Francisco, 1849-1944* [San Francisco, 1944].

From MR. EDWIN GRABHORN—Gerstäcker, Friedrich, *Scenes of Life in California*, trans. from the French by George Cosgrave, San Francisco: John Howell [1942]; Phillips, Catherine Coffin, *Coulterville Chronicle*, San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1942.

From MISSES ALICE and ETHEL HAGER—Watson, Mary, *People I Have Met: Short Sketches of Many Prominent Persons*, San Francisco, 1890.

From MISS FLORENCE E. LATHAM—*Report of the Committee on the San Francisco High School . . . June 30, 1859*, San Francisco, 1859.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—Rearden, Anna, *The Partheneia: a Masque of Maidenhood*, Berkeley: University of California, 1912.

From MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION—*Analytic Index of the Michigan History Magazine*, Vols. 1-25, 1917-1941, Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Historical Commission, 1944.

From MR. GEORGE E. MORTENSEN—[Chico Normal School] *The Normal Record*, Vol. V, No. 2, April, 1900, Memorial Number: *Gen. John Bidwell.*

From. HON. THOMAS F. PRENDERGAST—Ginty, John, comp., *Perfection Block and Street Guide of the City and County of San Francisco* [San Francisco], 1914.

From MR. HALLOCK F. RAUP—U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, *Geographic Names in the Coastal Areas of California, Oregon and Washington* [Washington, D.C., n.d.]

From MR. LEON ROWLAND—Rowland, Leon, comp., *Santa Cruz Sentinel-News, Eighty-Nine Years Old: Brief History of Newspapers of Santa Cruz County*, Santa Cruz, 1944.

From MRS. JOHN H. RUSSELL—Kendall, Joseph, *A Landsman's Voyage to California, Being the Account, Compiled from Letters and the Journal of Joseph Kendall of the Voyage 'Round the Horn of the Bark Canton . . . 1849*, San Francisco [privately printed], 1935.

From STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI—Shoemaker, Floyd C., ed., *Missouri, Day by Day*, Vol. II [Columbia, Mo.]: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1943.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—*The Rise of Fernando Cortés* [Berkeley], The Cortes Society, 1944; Robert Louis Stevenson's *Story of Monterey, the Old Pacific Capital*, San Francisco: Colt Press [1944].

From MILEY B. WESSON, M.D.—*Early History of Urology on the West Coast.*

Reprinted from *History of Urology,* Vol. I [1933]. (Contains biographies of George Chismore, Henry Meyer, Davis Granville MacGowan, Martin Krotoszyner, George E. Goodfellow, Rufus L. Rigdon, John C. Spencer, Victor Vecki and Louis Bazet.)

From WILLAMETTE UNIVERSITY–*Institute of American History and Civilization,* Salem, Oregon: Willamette University, 1944; [Old Oregon Trail Centennial Commission], *Wagons West* [Portland, Oregon], 1943.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS–Carter, Charles Franklin, *Stories of the Old Missions of California,* San Francisco, 1917; Hutchinson, W. E., *Byways Around San Francisco Bay,* New York [1915]; *The Pacific Coast First Reader,* San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1874; Pratt, Alice Edwards, *The Sleeping Princess California,* San Francisco: William Doxey [1892]; Rowbins, James, *Impressions, California and the West,* San Francisco, 1913; Sabin, Edwin L., *Building the Pacific Railway,* Philadelphia, 1919; and others.

NEWSPAPERS

From MISS HELEN EDWARDES–San Francisco *Daily Alta California,* October 23, 1857; Miniature Edition of *Daily Alta California,* September 27, 1858, issued in celebration of the laying of the Atlantic cable.

From MISS FLORENCE E. LATHAM–San Francisco Earthquake and Fire, 1906: articles in the New York *Herald,* European edition, April 19 and April 24, 1906.

From MRS. JOHN T. WILLIAMS–San Francisco, *Daily Pacific News,* October 19, 1850.

MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

From MISS ELISABETH BENTON–"A Protestant Mission Dolores Church in Early San Francisco" (typewritten manuscript); two deeds to property of the "Protestant Religious Society of Mission Dolores," dated August 30, 1853, and May 5, 1854.

From MR. COLVIN B. BROWN–Letter from Leland Stanford to Thomas Brown, dated Sacramento, April 6th, 1864 (framed).

From J. C. DRAKE, M.D.–"Last Will and Testament of Sir Francis Drake, Extracted from the Principal Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1595 A. D." (typewritten copy).

From MR. FREDERICK B. HINCHMAN–Letter of Augustus F. Hinchman, from Panama, August 3, 1849.

From NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY–61 letters of Charles M. Anderson, 1903-1912, containing data on mining stocks; "Notes of the Turquoise Group of Mines" (typewritten MS); several cards, and miscellaneous items.

PICTURES

From MISS CHARLOTTE CLIFT–Large photograph of Osro Clift, '49er (framed).

From MR. LOWELL E. HARDY–Group photograph, Veteran Tippecanoe Club of Oakland, California.

From MISS FLORENCE E. LATHAM–Colored reproduction of lithograph of San Francisco, 1849.

From UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS–Paintings (copies) by F. A. Moore of: "Battle of the Plains of La Mesa" (near Los Angeles, Jan. 9, 1847); "American Encampment on the San Gabriel" (Jan. 8, 1847); "U. S. Squadron at Anchor in Monterey Bay" (June 12, 1847); "Raising the U. S. Flag at San Francisco (Yerba Buena)" (July 9, 1846); "Raising the U. S. Flag at Monterey" (July 7, 1846); "View of San Francisco in 1846"; "U. S. S. *Dale* Sloop of War"; "View Map of San Francisco"; "Battle of Santa Clara" (all framed).

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Framed picture of Santa Barbara Mission, in cut velvet.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Goodacre, W. J., Flag Map of California, Santa Barbara, 1936.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MISS CHARLOTTE CLIFT—Sea chest and carpenters' tools used by Osro Clift, '49er.

From MISSES ALICE and ETHEL HAGER—Album containing photographs of persons prominent in the professional and social life of San Francisco in the fifties and sixties; several calling-card wedding invitations probably of the fifties; Invitation to reception of Mrs. Channing Beals; Invitation and card to dinner complimenting Gen. Hiram Walbridge, 1853; Card (invitation) of Monumental Fire Co. No. 6.

From MR. LOWELL E. HARDY—Large album (from the collection of Lowell J. Hardy) containing: Sketch Book of the 23d California Legislature, 1880; Deed to lot at Fourth & Market Sts., San Francisco, 1869; Summons in re land dispute in Contra Costa Co., 1851; 8 maps, including *Tabula Californiae*, 1702 (photog. copy made in Munich), "Wagon Road Route from Placerville to Carson Valley," n.d., and "Map of the Overland Route," n.d.; many letter-sheets, including 10 of San Francisco scenes, 2 of Sacramento, 2 of Sonora, and 1 each of Downieville, Forest City, Jamestown, La Porte, Long Bar, Marysville, Michigan Bar, Mokelumne Hill, Springfield, Stockton, and others; 3 issues of San Francisco *Pictorial News Letter*, 1858; 12 illustrations from *California Police Gazette*, Ballou's *Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, Gleason's *Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, *Harper's Weekly*, Sacramento *Pictorial Union.*

From MISS FLORENCE E. LATHAM—"Early 'Frisco Reminiscences," from the San Francisco *News Letter*, 1888; also other newspaper clippings, etc.; United States flag carried in the Lincoln-Johnson campaign in San Francisco.

From MR. R. R. STUART—Time-table (poster) of South Pacific Coast R. R., San Francisco to San Jose, Newark, Santa Cruz Mountains and Big Tree Grove to the Bay of Monterey, 1882.

In Memoriam

Samuel Hubbard

1863—1944

Samuel Hubbard, explorer, archaeologist, rancher, miner, poet and sportsman, was born in San Francisco on Rincon Hill, in 1863, and after eighty-one years of residence in the Bay cities, passed quietly away on June 13 at his Oakland home.

Mr. Hubbard was a member of an old California pioneer family. His father, Samuel Hubbard II, entered the Golden Gate in 1850 after an adventurous voyage around Cape Horn in a small sailing vessel. Among his relatives was an uncle, Gardner Hubbard, who financed his son-in-law, Alexander Graham Bell, in the development of the telephone. Mr. Hubbard shared the interest in telephony which traced back to 1876 when the father foresaw the possibilities of the telephone and devoted himself to introducing it on the Pacific Coast. It was rather an unusual coincidence that Samuel Hubbard should serve for many years as a director of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company and also be closely related to the inventor, thereby linking the early days of a great discovery with the present time.

After attending the University of California as a member of the class of 1886, Mr. Hubbard entered business with his father. The gold rush to Alaska interrupted his business career, and during prospecting trips to the far North he developed an interest in archaeological research, which he later pursued as an avocation.

Traveling in many parts of the world and gifted with keen observation, he became intensely interested in ethnology and natural science. As a result of his exploration and other related work he was given the title of honorary curator of archaeology of the Oakland Museum and later became a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London.

He was a writer of real ability. His compositions in prose are admirable and his poetry exquisitely beautiful. An example of his verse is given below.

Mr. Hubbard was a gentle, loving and kindly man; a charming and fascinating companion; a public spirited citizen who commanded the highest respect of all who had the privilege of knowing him, either in business or cultural activities.

Surviving are his widow, Josephine Wolfsberger Hubbard; two children, Samuel Hubbard IV, of Oakland, an attorney, and Mrs. David Hyde Chick, of New York; two brothers, Charles P. Hubbard, of Orinda, and William B. Hubbard, of Bellingham, Washington; and four grandchildren.

EVELYN CRAIG PATTIANI

A DAY DREAM

(Written on the reverse of a picture of Samuel Hubbard holding a rod and a forty-pound Royal Chinook Salmon taken in Sixes River, Coast of Oregon, November 17, 1938.)

I jes set here a dreaming,
  A dreaming every day,
Of the sunshine that's a gleaming
  On the rivers fur away.
An' I kinder fall to wishin'
  I was where the waters swish
Fer if the Lord made fishin'
  Why — — a feller orter fish!

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Sustaining	
Lambert, Charles F.	Oakland, Calif.	Mr. Aubrey Drury
	Active	
Burns, Robert E.	Stockton, Calif.	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Carrigan, Mrs. Andrew	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Evans, George H., M.D.	San Francisco	George H. Kress, M.D.
Eyre, Edward E.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Foster, Lt. Charles A., Jr.	Baltimore, Md.	Membership Committee
Gray, Mrs. Horace	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Hager, Miss Alice	Burlingame, Calif.	Membership Committee
Jackson Union High School	Jackson, Calif.	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Keyston, George N.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Kane, Gerald J.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Kopac, Emil	Oshkosh, Nebraska	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Le Conte, Joseph N.	Carmel, Calif.	Membership Committee
Meherin, J. Vincent	San Francisco	Mr. Joe G. Sweet
Paden, William G.	Alameda, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Russell, Mrs. John H.	Los Angeles	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Santa Cruz Public Library	Santa Cruz, Calif.	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
State Division of Beaches and Parks, Dept. of Natural Resources	Sacramento, Calif.	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
State Historical Society of Wisconsin	Madison, Wisconsin	Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand
Tinnemann, Mrs. Otto	Berkeley, Calif.	Mrs. Ransom Pratt

Marginalia

Friends of Mr. Lowell E. Hardy, our editor, are rejoicing that he is recovering (though slowly) from the illness that has kept him at home for the past four months.

Mrs. Jeanne Van Nostrand, the Society's librarian, is missed at Pioneer Hall. After several months of vacation and leave of absence she is taking a position as librarian at Berkeley High School. Miss Alice J. Haines, formerly of the California State Library and the San Francisco Public Library, has been acting librarian for the past three months.

Our printer and sustaining member, Lawton R. Kennedy, at the end of this month will move his business to Oakland where he will be associated with his brother under the firm name of Westgate Press.

Miss Adele Ogden, author of the article on Alfred Robinson in this issue, is a graduate of the University of California, from which she also holds the degrees of M.A. and Ph.D. She was Native Sons of the Golden West Fellow in Pacific Coast History, 1934-35, has done research in New England and Mexico, and is the author of *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), as well as of articles which have been published in this QUARTERLY (September 1927, December 1929, September 1933). Since 1940 she has been a member of our editorial staff.

Allen Banks Sherman, who contributes the recollections of his grandfather, Major Edwin A. Sherman, is an officer in the United States Maritime Service. His business experience has been primarily with a major oil concern, prior to which he was for a brief period with the Oakland Recreation Department and the Oakland Board of Education.

The sketch of the so-called Mission San Mateo which illustrates the article, by Frank M. Stanger, giving the history of that adobe building, is by the artist whose letters, edited by Dr. Stanger, were printed in the September 1943 issue of the QUARTERLY.

Mr. E. Burke Holladay, of San Marino, writes that a portrait of his mother was painted in February 1859 by William S. Jewett, some of whose letters are printed in this issue.

Henry R. Wagner, who has translated the Calderón Memorial, was one of the founders of the present California Historical Society and is well known to most of our readers. Should anyone need further enlightenment, we suggest that he consult *Who's Who in America* or read Dr. Wagner's autobiography, *Bullion to Books* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1942). As he approaches his eighty-second birthday another book has just come from his pen – *The Rise of Fernando Cortés*, published by the Cortes Society, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

Mrs. Van Rensselaer (Marguerite Eyer) Wilbur, one of our members, has translated *The Journal of Madame Giovanni*, by Alexandre Dumas, from the 1856 French edition, in a volume just published by the Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York.

The eighty-seven acre estate near Saratoga, in Santa Clara County, where the widow of the famed John Brown, of Harper's Ferry, spent the later years of her life, has recently been deeded to the Santa Clara council of Boy Scouts, by Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Stuart. Mr. Stuart is a member of our Society.

Among our new members: George H. Evans, M.D., is the senior living past president of the California Medical Association and is also past president of the San Francisco County Medical Society, California Tuberculosis Association, California Academy of Medicine, and the American Therapeutic Society. He was chairman of the committee which inaugurated the publication of *California and Western Medicine* and has contributed numerous articles on medical and historical subjects to that and other periodicals.

Edward E. Eyre is the son of Edward L. Eyre, who was born in Virginia City, and grandson of the Edward Engle Eyre who came overland to California, arriving on September 3, 1849. This pioneer Eyre was a lieutenant colonel of the 1st California Volunteer Cavalry during the Civil War, went to Virginia City at the time of the Comstock excitement, and afterwards became a stock broker in San Francisco. Edward E. Eyre's mother was Florence Atherton, the daughter of Faxon Dean Atherton, father-in-law of the novelist, Gertrude Atherton.

Mrs. Horace Gray (Katharine Meeker), comes of an early American family. Her great grandfather, E. E. Griggs, is believed to have come to California in the fifties and conducted a library in Sacramento. Her grandfather and grandmother Meeker were present at the "Golden Spike" ceremony celebrating the completion of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads. Mrs. Gray is a member of the San Francisco Housing Authority, and of the San Francisco Housing and Planning Association and the California Housing and Planning Association. She is also secretary of the women's board of the San Francisco War Chest and a vice chairman of the Red Cross Nurses' Aid.

Miss Alice Hager is the sister of Miss Ethel Hager and daughter of John Sharpenstein Hager, U. S. district judge, United States Senator, and for many years a regent of the University of California. (See this Quarterly, XXIII, 95.) In the Broderick will case, Judge Hager handed down one of the most famous of California decisions, known as the Hager decision.

Joseph Nisbet Le Conte, professor emeritus of mechanical engineering, University of California, and honorary president of the Sierra Club, is the son of Joseph Le Conte who came to the University of California in 1869 to take part in the organization of the University of California which had grown out of the small college at Oakland. Joseph N. Le Conte was born in Oakland, and taught at the University of California from 1892 to 1937, after receiving the degrees of B.S. from that institution and M.M.E. from Cornell University.

J. Vincent Meherin attended the University of San Francisco and served in the United States Navy during World War I. Since the close of the war he has been a partner in the insurance brokerage firm Mark M. Meherin & Son. His mother was the former Elenore Murphy, born in San Francisco in 1856, the daughter of Patrick and Bridget Murphy who came to San Francisco in 1850. They lie buried in Mission Dolores Cemetery.

William G. Paden, Superintendent of City Schools in Alameda, California, was born at San Luis Rey (San Diego County), near the mission of that name, which was on his father's ranch. He is a lecturer for the University of California and for San Francisco State College and has made a special study of Western pioneer trails. He is the author of *Seeing California* (The Macmillan Company) and co-author of *A Workbook on California Geography* (Ginn & Co.), and has three volumes of detailed maps of the California gold trails almost ready for publication.

Mrs. John H. Russell (Amy Requa) is the granddaughter of Isaac L. Requa who came to California in 1850, and after several unprofitable years in the mines flumed successfully the Middle Fork of the American River at Big Bar. In 1861 he went to Virginia City and became prominently identified with mining activities on the Comstock lode. He was also a member of the territorial legislature of Nevada. Later he came back to California and built a large home in Piedmont, which is well known to many of our local residents. Her other grandfather, William F. Herrick, for a short period in 1855 was owner of the *Alta California.*

Mrs. Otto Tinnemann (Sue Parrish), a graduate of the University of California, State vice-chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and a member of the Colonial Dames of America, was born in Nevada City. She is the daughter of the late Edwin Parrish and Julia Reynolds Parrish. Her father came to California from New York State while quite a young man, and in 1887 became Pacific Coast manager of the Niagara Fire Insurance Co. Mrs. Tinnemann's mother was born in San Francisco, her parents having come here in the late fifties by way of Panama. The grandfather, a coppersmith, later had his own shop on Front Street, and on his death he was buried in Mission Dolores Cemetery.

Dr. Leonard reports the successful conclusion of the sale of the Society's duplicate books, of which he was in charge, and that there will be around $1100 for the library fund after all the money is in and the expenses deducted.

Attention is called to the announcement of the Society's new publication on the back cover of this issue: a pamphlet containing the articles relative to the emigration from France to California during the Gold Rush. It should be of especial interest to those who have friends and relatives with the Allied forces in France today. A republication in book form of the Journals of John Work, which ran serially in the Quarterly, concluding with the June issue, is planned for the near future.

Samuel Green McMahan

Member of the Bidwell Party and Owner of Bartlett Springs

By Ellen Lamont Wood

AMONG the most vivid recollections of my childhood are the visits I paid to my stepgrandfather, Samuel Green McMahan, and my grandmother at their ranch on Putah Creek, eight miles from Dixon, California. Grandmother was always very energetic and busy, while my grandfather spent most of his time reading. It was explained to me later that he was interested in scientific subjects, especially horticulture, and that he had taken much care in selecting the beautiful trees and shrubs near the house. When he had his afternoon rest, the younger members of the family were cautioned to be quiet; however, we had plenty of things outdoors to entertain us, such as gathering the eggs and tree-climbing. In particular, we had Dempsey, an old circus horse, on whom we all learned to ride. I remember that the stables were full of horses. Grandfather had given each son a span and each daughter a saddle pony, but if he wanted to use one of the animals himself, he always asked permission of the owner, no matter how young he or she might be. Those were pleasant, easy-going days on the ranch, and must have seemed very different to my grandfather from the events of his earlier life.

Samuel Green McMahan (or Green McMahan, as he was usually called) belonged to a pioneering family [1] who had begun to push westward, first from Ireland to Pennsylvania in the person of William McMahan (b. 1725; d. 1797), and again in William's grandson, Thomas,[1a] who in 1811 went from Virginia to Kentucky and on into Missouri with his two brothers, James and Samuel. They settled on Loutre Island, now a part of Montgomery County; but preferring the prospect of occasional Indian raids on the border to the almost hourly occurrence of rattlesnakes and copperheads on Loutre Island, they crossed the river into Cooper County and subsequently built Fort Mahan. My grandfather, who was the son of Thomas and Margaret Jones McMahan (daughter of David and Jane Rubble Jones), was born in June 1819 on their Cooper County farm, three miles south of the town of Arrow Rock.[2] Here he lived until he started west at the age of twenty-two. When he returned on a visit in 1868, he met one of his sisters for the first time. She was born after his departure and was then twenty-seven – the youngest of seven children.

In May 1841,[3] a company of sixty-nine persons, including my grandfather, left Sapling Grove, Missouri, bound for the West. John Bartleson was captain; Talbot H. Green, president; and John Bidwell, secretary. They were joined by a band of missionaries headed by Father Pierre DeSmet, who had as their guide Thomas Fitzpatrick. He had often led trapping parties into the Rocky Mountains, and now conducted the combined group from the Kansas to the Bear River, *via* Fort Laramie. They traveled across the prairies at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles per day, sometimes through heavy storms. When they reached Independence Rock [4] and carved their names on its rough surface, they did not know that they were actually writing history, for their undertaking marked the beginning of the settlement of the far West. After they had crossed the divide between the Green and Bear rivers, they followed the latter to Soda Springs, where about half of the party turned northward on the Oregon trail. Fitzpatrick, the guide, attempted to persuade the others to give up the California project, which he considered full of danger, but they refused.

Green McMahan and his cousin, Nelson McMahan,[5] were among the thirty-two bound for California. They knew nothing about the country, and without a guide had great difficulty in finding their way. Food gave out. Wagons had to be abandoned. Finally, they came up against the east wall of the Sierra Nevada, a mightier barrier than any which they had hitherto encountered; but once again their indomitable courage led them on, and on the fourth of November 1841, six months after their departure from Sapling Grove, they arrived at the John Marsh Ranch near the base of Mount Diablo. The next day some of them, among whom were the two McMahans, went to Mission San Jose to get passes. John Marsh [6] became surety for Green McMahan, G. Bowen [7] for Green's cousin, Nelson.

Dr. Marsh describes the arrival of the party in the following letter [8] to Thomas Ap Catesby Jones:

> An event which will probably be regarded as of some importance in the future history of California, was the arrival in Nov. last year of an exploring party, from the United States. This consisted of thirty-one men, and one woman and child from Independence a town on the western frontier of Missouri: . . . they came in carriages to within about 200 miles of this place and probably would have come in them, the whole distance, had they not been unfortunate in not being able to find the proper pass of the snowy mountains. This company arrived in good health, without accidents, and without much difficulty at the house in which I am writing, without any other guide than a letter I had sent them the year previous . . . If any proof were wanting of the unprecedented energy and enterprise of the people of our western frontier I think this would be sufficient; their object was to see if California was indeed, the fine country it had been represented, and with the ulterior object of emigrating to it if it should meet their expectations. They were well received by the Governor, and particularly by the military commandant, and assured that all facilities will be afforded them for the acquirement of lands.

Because they soon began to have difficulties [9] with Dr. Marsh, they left the ranch and went their several ways. Bidwell and three others (including, presumably, Green McMahan) started for Sutter's Fort. Marsh said that the journey could be made in three days. It took them eight. They traveled in the rain across a flooded country, and were three days without food. Upon arrival, they were hospitably received by Sutter. McMahan spent the first winter at the fort.[10] From the fall of 1842 until the spring of 1843, he was evidently employed by John Wolfskill on Putah Creek, as he testified in a land case [11] in 1853 that he lived on the Rancho Rio de los Putos during that time, after which he had left the neighborhood for Oregon. John Bidwell testified in the same case [12] that he passed the Putah Creek Rancho for the first time early in March 1843 and that the house was then occupied by Green McMahan and Dr. Wiggins who were both employed by Wolfskill.

The schooner *Star of Oregon* [13] was built in 1840-41 on Swan Island in the Willamette River, for the purpose of being sailed to California and traded off for cattle, which were needed by the settlers in Oregon. She sailed August 27, 1842, under the command of Joseph Gale. At sunset on September 17, she dropped anchor in San Francisco Bay opposite the Presidio and was subsequently sold for three hundred and fifty cows. As only four of the crew were making the return overland trip to Oregon, they could not start that fall. They therefore parted, agreeing to rendezvous in the spring on Cache Creek. Meanwhile, Joseph Gale sent out written circulars describing the "immense advantages" of Oregon, and by May 1843, a company of forty-two men had been formed, all of whom brought livestock. There were twelve hundred and fifty head of cattle, six hundred mares, horses, colts, and mules, and nearly three hundred sheep. They left on May 14, and after a weary journey of seventy-five days they arrived in the Willamette Valley.

From the similarity of their experiences, this company probably included Joel P. Walker, the Benjamin Kelseys, Jacob P. Leese, and Green McMahan. Walker [14] was in Napa on April 1, 1843, at which time he determined to go to Oregon. He purchased horses, cattle, and wagons; and on May 14 the trip began. When they reached the head of the Sacramento Valley, Indians killed some of their horses and a mule. The account says that they reached Oregan about the time the emigrants began to arrive. As the Kelseys [15] were nearing Shasta Butte on their way to Oregon, twenty-five horses were stolen by Indians, and a mare was shot with an arrow; and while descending the Siskiyou Mountains, Indians attacked and killed several of the party's horses and cattle. Leese [16] left Sonoma in 1843, taking with him eleven hundred head of cattle to supply the Americans who were settling in Oregon. The trip took seventy-five days. While still in California, near Colusa, they were attacked by Indians who shot at and wounded some of the cattle, but upon arrival in Oregon the remaining animals were disposed of to great advantage. Green McMahan, in the following letter,[17] likewise describes trouble with Indians while on his trip, and the backwoodsmen who had come into Oregon the preceding autumn.

To Dr. Marsh Oregon, June the 16, 1844

Dr. Sir

I rite so bade that you will have to guess at what I am going to attempt to rite, but I will rite you this at a venture to let you know that I have not forgot you intirely. I should have rote before I left Calafornia but I had several notion to go and to stay and expected to return the next day, the day we started.

I don't lik this cuntry and expect to be in Calafornia the next chance, and intended to go withe this company but I co[u]ld not get off without making to much scrifice of the things that I have. This is a better country than I expected to find it, tho the climate is very bad, the raines are vry disagreeable and the nits more so, it being very wrom some days and the nits cold, othe days disagreeably cold but wheet grows very well, but not producing so much to acre by consderabl as Clafornia. The granes are as good if not better. Potatoes grow in grate abundance, corn poorly and most everything else xcpt timber and mosketoes. Fever and ague flurish here but I havent had much sickness yet but I do not know how soon. The States turned out backwoods men very well last yer, about 700 got down last fall. They came within a hundred and fifty miles of the setlment of the Walhamet withe the mo[s]t of there wagones and brought them the rest of the way by water. Some say there will be 2000 or more emagrants next fall but if the people thought this as bad a country as people that came last emegration I think they would stay at home. I thought at one time last winte that at least half would go to Calafornia ths spring, but as the raines seste [ceased] the fever dide away but you need not be the least surpised if they swarm down by hundreds before long and if the government should make any favorable chang Oragon would be nearly broke up. Mr. Freemont, a government officer, got down as fare as Vancouver la[s]t faul and started back to finish his survey of a road from the states to Oregon.

I think there can be found a good wagon road from the states to ths place by the way of the head waters of the Clamath river. Some old French trappers say out by the lake on that river the mountains are low and a good rode th[r]ough them. The rode from here to Calafornia, the way we came is very bad, it is one continuous led[ge] of mountains the most of the [way] from the planes of the Walhamet to the planes Sacramento but I supose we came the worst road. We should hav come up the sout branct of the Sacramento to the head of the waters of the Wilhameth. The Indians on our rod shot arrows into about 10 or 15 hed of cattle and nerly as many horses. They kild but two on the spot. Nelson is her, is doing very well and is geting along very well in money maters, much beter than my self thoug I am doing as well [as] I could in Calaforna. The currecy is verry bad in ths cunty, nothing but goods and they are geting derer fast. Bsness is flourising her now. The people are makin large farmes, the towns are growing fast, mills a blding and nearly every man is trying to make a spoon and spoil a horn. I hav 15 miles to ride to the Calafornia Camp and 25 back home and hav not time write this one again and if I was to, it woud not be much better. I am bungler at [t]his. What you cant read maby you can gess at. I hope you are as harty as you ust to be and that you have plenty of egg corn brew which I can not get her and I hop to help you eat some of it soon.

Yours & &
Samuel G. McMahan

Among the names[18] of the jurymen in a lawsuit heard in an Oregon court on April 16, 1844, is that of GREEN McMAHAN. The verdict is signed by each juryman personally. Mr. McMahan signs himself SAMUEL G. McMAHAN. Again, in the list of jurymen with the amount each received as fee, is SAMUEL G. McMAHAN.[19] GREEN McMAHAN is listed among "First

Taxpayers in Oregon, 1844." He owned one hundred and fifty horses, valued at $150.00, and taxed at $ .69.

There is no doubt regarding Green McMahan's return to California, for he was the leader of the McMahan-Clyman party.[20] James Clyman had left Independence, Missouri, for Oregon in May, 1844, with a party of about five hundred members under the leadership of Colonel Nathaniel Ford. Before entering the Indian country, they had organized themselves into groups of twenty each. Clyman was probably treasurer of one of the groups, for in a notebook in which he kept a diary of the trip is a record of his accounts. One entry is "McMahan .... $1.00."[21] This may refer to James McMahan,[22] Green McMahan's brother. Evidently some of the members of this party were as disappointed [23] in Oregon (or Columbia, as it was then called) as were those mentioned in the McMahan letter to Marsh, and the combined groups formed the nucleus of the McMahan-Clyman company.

On Sunday, June 8, 1845,[24] the McMahan-Clyman party, consisting of thirty-nine men, a woman, and three children, started for California from the present site of Oregon City. Most of the streams in the Willamette Valley had overflowed their banks, and the party were happy when they reached the solid hills on which fir trees and groves of oak were growing. At times, they had views of Mount Hood, Mount Jefferson, and the Umpqua Mountains toward the south. They forded the Umpqua River several times, but had to be ferried across the Rogue River by two Indians in canoes. Near where they landed, a point of rocks jutted out. "... Capt. Green McMahan [25] and seven or eight men went ahead and Examined the primises but found no danger lurking there ..." Of the trip over the Siskiyou Mountains, Clyman says:[26] "... Near the top of this mountain is a bad thicket to pass whare nearly all the parties passing this Trail have been attacted several men with Capt McMahan went in ahead and we drove in our packed animals all came through safe & soon had a view of the country south from the summit which was wild and awfully sublime snow was seen in more than 20 places some quite high and amongst the timber which goes to shew that an unusual Quantity had fallen late in the spring." Having forded the Klamath River, they headed for Mount Shasta, through magnificent forests of pine, fir, and cedar, on their way to the headwaters of the Sacramento, and entered the lower valley of that stream near the present site of Redding. At their camp on Cache Creek, they let the animals loose for the first time during the journey, while they themselves slept peacefully under the oaks. John Wolfskill visited them here, and upon butchering a beef gave them a fine feast. From William Gordon's further up the creek, they started for Sutter's Fort.

John A. Sutter [27] in a letter to Thomas O. Larkin dated July 15, 1845, described the members of this company as follows: "All of this people have a descent appearance and some very useful Men amongs them some of them will remain here, and the Majority will spred over the whole Country like usual, a good many will come to Monterey and present themselves to you, I give them passports, and give Notice to the Government." He enclosed a list of their names which included, "Samuel Green McMahan (Capt of the Compie) farmer . . . U. S."

According to Clyman's diary,[28] his party reached Monterey on July 30, traveling from New Helvetia *via* Livermore and San Juan,[29] and on August eighth they were at George Yount's.[30] It is very probable that Green McMahan was among those who went to Monterey, because, on February 8, 1855, he testified in a land case [31] that he had first passed through the section of the country (now Contra Costa County), in which the land in question was situated, on the last day of July or the first part of August 1845. Moreover, Thomas Knight [32] specifically mentions having seen Green McMahan at Caymus Rancho in Napa Valley, Yount's place, when he went there in 1845. Some idea of his whereabouts later in the year may be gained from an entry,[33] dated December 9, 1845, in the *New Helvetia Diary*, showing that Wolfskill and McMahan had stopped at Sutter's Fort, on their way north from Los Angeles.

In May 1846, Green McMahan [34] and Calvin Griffith,[35] who, at the age of fifteen, had come to California with his family the year before and whose father, James, rented land from George Yount, were cutting wood in Napa Valley. They met a grizzly bear with cubs. Discovering the danger in time, Griffith escaped. McMahan was left to his fate. He attempted to strike the beast with an ax but the furious animal, knocking it out of his hand, cuffed and bit him. When he pretended to be dead, she covered him with leaves and went away. He then attempted to climb a tree. The bear returned, knocked him down, mangled his wrist, and tore the flesh from his breast. Again he feigned death; again the beast turned away. Being near the bank of a creek, Green McMahan dropped over the edge and made his way to the other side. A relief party headed by Griffith found him in a serious condition but able to crawl on his hands and knees. He was confined to his room for several months after this experience – probably at George Yount's, because, some ten years later, he testified during a land case [36] that he had first met the claimant, Jose de la Rosa, while the latter and he were living in Mr. Yount's house in 1846, and that he was able to converse with de la Rosa in Spanish.

On October 6, 1846,[37] Green McMahan was enrolled at Sonoma for service in the Mexican War for a period of six months. He served as a private in Captain Sear's Company D, California Mounted Riflemen Battalion (Fremont's). The date of muster is not known but his service expired March 5, 1847. He served [38] for only a short time, as the wounds made by the she-bear had not healed and were so painful that he was forced to give up the project. Until recovery was complete, he lived with a Mexican family, where he learned to speak Spanish fluently. The Mexicans regarded him as a friend, and when they came to him for advice he gave it willingly, never taking advantage of them in any way.

About 1846, Green McMahan purchased [39] one hundred and sixty acres of land on Putah Creek, Solano County, from John Reid Wolfskill,[40] for whom he worked shortly after he reached California. John Wolfskill had arrived in California with a party from Mexico in 1838. For two years he had remained with his brother, William, in Southern California. He then came north in search of land and probably visited Putah Creek. Discovering that he must become a Mexican citizen in order to own land, Wolfskill returned to Los Angeles to consult his brother. Early in 1842 he arrived in Monterey with William Wolfskill's naturalization papers, which enabled him to obtain, in his brother's name, a grant of four square-leagues on Putah Creek, the Rancho de los Putos. His property was on both sides of the creek, in what is now Solano and Yolo counties. His nearest neighbors were Sutter on the Sacramento, Marsh near Diablo, Yount in Napa Valley, and Chief Solano's Indians in Suisun Valley. He was indeed pleased when Green McMahan became his neighbor. On March 11, 1859, the latter purchased an additional tract of 1366 and 67/100 acres from Wolfskill for the sum of $10,933. This property adjoined what he already owned, for in the deed [41] the north end of S. G. McMahan's orchard fence is given as a boundary.

In the sixties,[42] when the Wolfskill brothers began to grow wheat, they divided their interests in the ranch. John Wolfskill and Green McMahan fenced the portion belonging to the former: during a single year they built twenty-one miles of fence at a cost of ten thousand dollars, and it is said [43a, b] that Wolfskill constructed the adobe on McMahan's land in payment for his help with the fence. The dwelling, a one story house of two rooms with walls eighteen inches thick and surrounded by frame buildings, stood about seventy-five feet from the south bank of Putah Creek, and about one hundred and fifty feet east of the farm lane that leads north from the highway at a point five and eight-tenth miles east of the bridge at Winters.

In company with most of the early wheat growers [44] in the Sacramento Valley, Green McMahan prospered, and from time to time increased his holdings by buying land in the neighborhood. Deeds in the Recorder's Office, Fairfield, Solano County, show that he purchased property from Henry H. Hartley, John Currey, Appolenia Adamson, Andrew M. and G. Bush Stevenson, and S. Clinton Hastings. The land was part of Los Putos Rancho and also part of the Mexican grant given in 1842 to Juan Manuel Vaca and Felipe Pena.

On March 7, 1860, Green McMahan married [45] Mrs. Lavenia Ellen Clarke Yount, the widow of John Burnette Yount who had been killed in

El Dorado County three years before. She had made the trip to California *via* the Isthmus with her husband and two children, arriving at the home of George C. Yount, John Yount's uncle, in April 1851. At the time of her second marriage,[46] she had four children. The two youngest, Hattie Emma Yount[47] and John Burnette Yount, were born in California. From the great affection my mother felt for the man who replaced the parent she remembered only vaguely, I know that no father could have been more devoted to his stepchildren than was their foster father. When the Civil War commenced, shortly after her marriage, my grandmother was afraid that her husband might be interned,[48] as he was an ardent supporter of the South; but at the same time his admiration for Lincoln was very sincere, and he considered his death a great misfortune to the Southern States.

With characteristic concern for his family, Green McMahan thought that a month in the mountains each summer was necessary for their health. On one of these camping trips they visited Bartlett Springs,[49] on the middle fork of Cache Creek in Lake County. At that time, Green Bartlett was the owner. He had been born in Kentucky, reared on a farm in Arkansas, and in 1856 had driven cattle across the plains to California. He remained in Solano County for two years, and then returned East *via* Panama. The next year he visited California again, and decided to settle in the Napa Valley. Several years later (1870) while hunting, he discovered a spring. After drinking the water for two weeks, the rheumatism from which he had been suffering disappeared. He then persuaded several of his friends, who were ill, to try the waters and when they too recovered, he was convinced of their medicinal value. Accordingly, he selected one hundred and sixty acres, which included the site of the spring, and made the place his home. In March 1877, Green McMahan and his brother-in-law, Calvin Rutter Clarke, bought a half-interest in what had by that time become known as "Bartlett Springs." The agreement[50] read as follows:

> This agreement made this Sixteenth day of March A. D. 1877 Between Green Bartlett of Lake County, California, of the first part and S. G. McMahan of Solano County, California and C. R. Clarke of Nevada County, California of the second part. Witnessth that the party of first party agrees that from and after the 1st day of April 1877 the parties of the second part shall during its continuance be entitled to one half of the Monthly Rents of the Bartlett Springs Hotel Property according to the terms of the Lease now existing between said Green Bartlett and David Alendander of Nevada County. . . . And it is hereby mutually agreed and each party binds himself that he will not in any way encumber his interest in said Hotel Property by becoming Security for the indebtedness of any other party. it is also agreed that neither party will lease or Sell his interest or any portion thereof without the consent in writing of the other parties.
>
> In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and Seals this date above written
>
> his
> Green x Bartlett
> mark
> S. G. McMahan
> C. R. Clarke

On March 4, 1878, Green McMahan purchased from the estate of William Gordon three hundred and twenty acres for the sum of $2,000. This land lay directly west of the original Bartlett Springs property and became part of what was known as "New Town Flat." On April 26, 1878, he purchased from W. H. Lindenberger about forty-six acres west of the land acquired from the Gordon estate; and on July 12, 1879, he bought from Perry Connor about three hundred and twenty acres northwest of the Springs proper.[51]

Descriptions [52] of Bartlett Springs in the early seventies show that it was reached by a winding road from Upper Lake through forests where mountain quail, gray squirrels, and deer made their homes. Cattle and sheep were pastured on the hills. The rocky peaks in the distance gave the scene a rather wild appearance, and as the cabins, about forty in number, were made of shakes, most of them with only dirt floors, the resort was said to have had the air of a mining camp, set in the hills. The stables were by far the best buildings. Part of the early improvements had been the construction of a rectangular wall around "Bartlett Spring," the only mineral water on the property that was ever bottled commercially. Although my grandfather did not live to see the fullest expansion of the resort, it was under his guidance that the countryside began to take on the appearance of a town, with hotels, cottages, housekeeping cabins, stables, a bottling works, a store, tennis courts, croquet grounds, a pool, and a spacious hall for dancing and other entertainments.

During his last years he spent much of his time at the Springs. It was there, in the fall of 1884, that he had the stroke which caused his death. He was taken to his home on Putah Creek, where he died on the twenty-first of November of that year. Upon hearing the sad news, a Mexican, Jose Albernares, who was living on the Wolfskill Ranch, could not be consoled. He refused to eat and knelt by the casket day and night. In an effort to console Albernares, the family made it possible for him to follow the body of his friend to the grave, for it was more than one man's devotion: he was openly showing grief that was felt by many other Mexicans, who regarded my grandfather as a brother.

Green McMahan was buried in the City Cemetery in Sacramento. The funeral was conducted by the Sacramento Association of California Pioneers, of which he had long been a member. In its issue of November 23, 1884, the Woodland *Daily Democrat* paid him the following tribute:[53]

> . . . He was one of the most genial men in the community and enjoyed the high esteem of his neighbors, and through his industry and large executive skill, has accumulated one of the many fine estates in Solano County . . . With Mr. McMahan's death there passes away another of those heroic landmarks who became conspicuous in laying the foundation of California's unrivaled progress and prosperity . . .

NOTES

1. This information was obtained from three letters, dated May 23, 1942, June 26, 1942, and June 26, 1944, written by Mrs. Alice B. McCurdy, Samuel Green McMahan's niece, of Marshall, Missouri, to the writer; and *History of Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1883).

1*a*. William McMahan's son, Thomas (1747-1821), married Diana Adams (1757-1825) in 1773. Their son, Thomas, was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1786 and died in Cooper County, Missouri, in 1855.

2. When Fort Osage was abandoned during the War of 1812, Major George C. Sibley erected another at Arrow Rock, farther down the Missouri River. He succeeded in holding the new fort throughout the war, and it formed the nucleus of the town of the same name, which became a center for traders passing over the Santa Fe Trail. Its importance was added to by the popularity of the crossing at that point, known as the Arrow Rock Ferry. Within recent years, the Daughters of the American Revolution have restored an old inn that was famous among early-day travelers. W. J. Ghent, *The Early Far West* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1936), p. 146; and the writer's own observations.

3. John Bidwell, "Journey to California" (MS in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley); Charles Hopper, "A California Pioneer of 1841" (MS in Bancroft Library); Josiah Belden, "Historical Facts on California" (MS in Bancroft Library).

4. "... Rock Independence an Isolated Feldspathic Granite Bolder 640 Yds long and Eighty feet in hight . . . It derives its name from its isolated condition and the fact that one of the Earliest parties of American travellers arrived here upon the fourth of July and celebrated the day upon its summit They also here engraved upon one of its loftiest bolders the Immortal name of Henry Clay. A Fitting monument of one "Born not for a day but for all time" on one of the loftiest points of the continent he had done so much to honor ..." Quoted from "Lecture to Jones' Pantoscope of California etc.," this QUARTERLY, VI (June 1927), 116-117.

5. Alice B. McCurdy stated in a letter (May 23, 1942) to the writer that Nelson and Samuel Green were first cousins. Bancroft made the incorrect statement that they were brothers (Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), IV, 726).

6. "Vallejo Documents" (MS in Bancroft Library), X, 340.

7. *Ibid.*, X, 355.

8. John Marsh to Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, November 25, 1842 (MS in Bancroft Library).

9. Dr. Marsh was hospitable at first and offered them a beef for breakfast. The next day his anger was aroused because they not only killed the steer but his best work-oxen as well, probably by mistake. Later, Dr. Marsh obtained passports for some of the party, for which he charged $5.00 each, whereas the Mexican authorities charged nothing. George D. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer* (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1930), p. 245.

10. Ed. Leake, "Her Life Remarkable," Woodland *Daily Democrat*, April 2, 1910.

11. Case No. 232 N. D., *William Wolfskill Claimant* vs. *The United States for Rio de los Putos*, p. 18.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

13. S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History* (Portland: J. K. Gill Co., 1905), Chap. 58.

14. Joel P. Walker, "Narrative of Adventure" (MS in Bancroft Library).

15. San Francisco *Examiner*, February 5, 1893.

16. Mrs. F. H. Day, "Sketches of Early Settlers of California," *Hesperian*, II (June 1859), 154.

17. Samuel Green McMahan to John Marsh, Oregon, June 16, 1844 (MS in California Department, California State Library, Sacramento, California).

18. Information in a letter received from the Oregon Historical Society by the California Historical Society.

19. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (March 1930), 19.

20. Charles L. Camp, *James Clyman, American Frontiersman, 1792-1881* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, *Spec. Publ. No. 3*, 1928), p. 52.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

22. Bancroft made the statement that James McMahan may have come to California from Oregon with the McMahan-Clyman party. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 726. Alice B. McCurdy, in a letter to the writer, dated June 26, 1942, says: "Uncle Green and Nelson first went to California and Uncle James went later. I do not know which way but transportation was better than when Uncle Green went. A large train of wagons & I think pulled by oxen; but many were discouraged and turned back, others died and were buried by the roadside. Uncle Green was six months on the way & would never have reached California if he had not met some friendly Indians who helped him around the mountains."

Albert G. Toomes, "Pioneering Overlanders of 1841," San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, July 27, 1868, and Josiah Belden, "Historical Facts on California" (MS in Bancroft Library, Berkeley), incorrectly list James [B.] McMahan as a member of the Bidwell-Barlteson party.

On October 11, 1859, S. G. McMahan deeded to James Byrd McMahan about 600 acres of land. (Recorder's office, Fairfield, California.)

December 14, 1891, George A. Lamont filed a petition, praying for letters of administration of the estate of James B. McMahan, and stating that James B. McMahan had died on July 17, 1863, in Idaho. (County Clerk's Office, Fairfield, Probate No. 1230.)

23. Joseph William McKay, "Recollections of a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company Fort Simpson, 1878" (MS in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), states that in 1845 near Yamhill he met James Clyman, who had arrived overland from Missouri the previous autumn; and that he and most of his companions, having become thoroughly disgusted with Oregon, were planning to form a party to undertake the journey southward to California.

24. Charles L. Camp, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

28. Charles L. Camp, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

29. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 573.

30. Charles L. Camp, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

31. Case No. 428A, N. D. *Juan M. Luco et al., Claimants*, vs. *The United States for Ulpines Grant*, p. 59.

32. Thomas Knight to H. H. Bancroft, March 1872, "Recollections" (MS in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

33. John A. Sutter and his clerks, *New Helvetia Diary, A Record of Events Kept At New Helvetia, California, from September 9, 1845 to May 25, 1848* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press in arrangement with the Society of California Pioneers, 1939), p. 6. In the index they are listed as John Wolfskill and Samuel Green McMahan.

34. *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California Pioneers* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1891). *See also* Note 10, above.

35. Tom Gregory, *History of Solano and Napa Counties, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1912), p. 630; and *History of Napa and Lake Counties* (San Francisco: Slocum, Bowen and Company, 1881), p. 469.

36. Case No. 428A.

37. Pension File (Mex WC 5 325) Washington, D. C., The National Archives.

38. *See* Note 10, and Note 34, above.

39. No record of this deed is in the Recorder's Office, Fairfield, California. Records were not kept until 1847. The date is given as 1846 in *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California Pioneers* (*see* Note 34, above). Tom Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 58, states that Green McMahan settled in Vaca Valley in 1847. (Probably should have been Putah Creek, Solano County.)

40. H. D. Barrows, *A Pioneer of Sacramento Valley* (Historical Society of Southern California, *Annual Publication*), IV (1897), 12.

41. Recorder's Office, Fairfield, Solano County. N. 293.

42. *See* Note 40, above, p. 17.

43*a*. Material kindly given by Mr. J. N. Bowman, 1725 Francisco St., Berkeley.

43*b*. The house burned in 1929, and in 1932 the adobe walls fell. There is nothing now left to mark the site. The orchard, vineyard, and shade trees are also gone, except for a few large eucalyptus, growing on the bank of Putah Creek.

44. From 1849 to 1854, Chile exported wheat to California; but by 1855-1856, the direction was reversed and California was exporting wheat not only to Chile and other countries bordering the Pacific, but even to Great Britain. Among the producing counties were Yolo and Solano, each of which in 1880 had yields of 2,000,000 bushels. The effects of shallow ploughing and continuous cropping without fertilization, however, began to be apparent; and as the state became more thickly settled, and taxes increased because of higher land values, the farmers on the large ranches in the Sacramento Valley found themselves with a crop that was no longer profitable. Esther Theresa Wildman, "The Settlement and Resources of the Sacramento Valley" (Master's Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, May 1921), Chapter 6.

45. Bible belonging to Lavenia Ellen Clarke Yount, in the possession of the writer.

46. Two sons were born of this marriage, James Edwin McMahan and Calvin Clarke McMahan. The only living descendant of Green McMahan is his granddaughter, Metha McMahan (Mrs. Ernest Heebner), of New York City, the daughter of Calvin Clarke McMahan.

47. Mother of the writer.

48. Lovick Pierce Hall, owner with S. J. Garrison, of the *Equal Rights Expositor*, published in Visalia, was arrested and imprisoned in Fort Alcatraz, where he remained until his release after the close of the Civil War. Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," this QUARTERLY, XX, (June 1941), 164.

49. Campbell Augustus Menefee, *Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake, and Mendocino Counties* (Napa City Reporter Publishing House, 1873), p. 239; and *History of Napa and Lake Counties* (San Francisco: Slocum, Bowen and Company, 1881), pp. 203, 219.

50. The original agreement is at Bartlett Springs, Lake County, in the possession of Jay A. Davis, one of the present owners.

51. Recorder's Office, Lakeport, Lake County, California.

52. Campbell Augustus Menefee, *op. cit.;* and *History of Napa and Lake Counties* (*see* Note 49, above).

53. Woodland *Daily Democrat,* November 23, 1884.

Business Letters of Alfred Robinson

Edited by Adele Ogden*

Mess^rs Bryant & Sturgis[1] S^ta Barbara, Jan 16, 1831.

Gentle^n.

I wrote you by the Brig Plant Capt Rutter,[2] and enclosed a Bill Lading of 1000 Salted Hides, which I hope ere this comes to hand you will have received in the same good order as when shipped.

Since my last as above stated I have made several pretty good sales and have every prospect of getting rid of the bulk of my consignment in the course of the present season, should no other vessel arrive to operate against me, as at this time I have only the Ship Pocahontas[3] to combat with, which vessel has (you are probably are aware of) a very small & inferior assortment –

From the time the Ship[4] left for Boston up to the present date I have sold rising 14000 dollars, which amounts with the debts already contracted, would be sufficient cargo for a small vessel, and I look forward to April or May for the arrival of one from your house, that I may embrace the opportunity to close the expedition as commenced and as equally advantageous to my owners –

Should you gentlemen conclude to send out another vessel to this coast or be concerned in any I take the liberty to Send for your guidance a list of such goods as are most wanted and which sell readily. Nankens l Blue, and stout sell well and the consumption is very great. Blk & Blue Velvet, Calicoes of lively and firm colors – Dk Blue Ginghams wide – Blue Cotton done up in the style of Nankens – Cheap Blue Broadcloths, some Fine – Fancy Cotton hdkfs lively figures & firm colors – Cottons of Indigo Blue – wide – Wht Cotton Hose. Men's & women ass^d. Blk Silk Hdkfs.

These are all staple articles & sell to a good profit and are such as are most scarce at this time.

I enclose you a Bill Lading of the Goods sent in the Plant –

Mr Henry A Peirce[5] S^ta Barbara Aug 12^th. 1831.

Dear Sir

Having understood you had lately taken charge of the business conducted by Mr. Hunnewell formerly the agent for Mess. B & S of Boston, I take the liberty to ship on board of the sloop W^m Little (Capt H. Carter)[6] consigned to your care an Invoice of Otter Skins as pr Bill Lading enclosed. To say 9 Barrels containing 478 large & small which I wish you to reship on the first conveyance to Canton unto Mess^rs. Russell & Co.[7]

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*In the September number, the Quarterly published Miss Ogden's introductory essay on the life of Alfred Robinson, together with his journal on the coast of California.

They are well packed and in good order & unless they should remain at the Islands sometime, I should not think it necessary to overhaul them – but that however I leave to your judgement –

In case you should, you can assort them for the market, perhaps *better than what they are,* that they may be disposed of apart –

Should there be any Letters at the Islands addressed either to Mr W A Gale or to me, you will do a great favour by recovering & despatching them on the first conveyance to this Coast.
thankfully received.

Yours &c.

As also a statement of the situation of the Islands & arrivals would be
P.S. I have agreed to pay at the rate of Ten Dollars pr Cask freight from here to your place of Business & you will please settle for the same charging the amount to Mess. Bryant & Sturgis on acct of the owners of Ship Brookline –

I have understood that there are letters brought by Capt. Hinckly[8] still at the Islands & directed to Mr. W A Gale, if so, you will oblige me by complying to the request before made –

Yours &c –

St^{a} Barbara
[October 29, 1831][9]

Messrs Bryant & Sturgis
Gen^{r}

By Capt J.A.C. Holmes who leaves here shortly for Mazatland and has kindly offered to dispatch across the Continent any Letters I may wish to forward to your House, I hastily address you a few lines, endeavouring as I do to give you every and all possible information of my advances towards closing the sales of the Cargo consigned to me by Mr W^{m} A Gale.

Long in the expectation of the arrival of another Vessel from the States to relieve me and to receive some intelligence from you, I cannot but express my uneasiness and unhappy situation. No news of any description or Letters have I received and consequently have been obliged to act according to my own entire Judgment, although it is to me very misterious when Mr Shaw of the Pochahontas relates of his receiving accounts mentioning the arrival of Mr Gale in Boston and the Ships cargo being contracted for ere her appearance[10]– If it is no fiction certainly I have every reason to suppose that Letters have been miscarried or detained in their rout, and cannot but regret that we have no surety of a safe conveyance.

To Messrs Barre & Kenedy I have written to request that they would do me the favour to take charge of all Letters which may be directed to me or Mr Gale and most probably by your addressing them on the same subject a Communication might be thouroughly carried on between us as many are the opportunities latterly which have offered to Mazatland and St Blas.

I have been careful to follow the directions given me by Mr Gale and until others to the contrary make their appearance or until his arrival here shall continue so to do – My express orders are to purchase Hides, Horns, Sea Otters. Consequently I have not thought prudent to sell Goods for Tallow, sensible as I am of its very low value in the States – although at the present moment it could be bought for 8^{rs} the arroba and a very good voayge might be made by shipping it to Lima, I imagine as the last accounts I received it was worth $2 on board. – Mr Anderson an English Merchant and who has been long engaged in Commerce on this Coast, arrived in August last in a Brig[11] with a small but a good Cargo, and has made sale of nearly the whole of it, purchasing Tallow with Hides at 9^{rs} and from his anxiety to dispatch another vessel[12] which came chartered by him, loaded with Tallow leads me to suppose it has either maintained its value or has risen in its demand – She is on the eve of departure and takes from about 14 @ 18000 arrobas –

I have had no opportunity to make a shipment of what Tallow I have collected nor should think it advisable, as it is most probable Mr Gale should he arrive again would consent to purchase a sufficiency with what I now have, to load a vessel for Lima – although presuming this might be the case, Cannot feel at present authorised to purchase, – and shall still move on endeavouring to collect all the Hides and sell goods at lower prices. –

I labour under a great disadvantage in not having a vessel to Coast with – and am forced to sell much cheaper on account of it, and (following the directions of Mr Gale) keep in mind that the great object is to close the concern[13] as fast as possible even to deviate from the prices which he held when here – You must be aware Gentlemen that separate from the Cottons, the worst of the Cargo was left behind for me to dispose of and I consider myself very fortunate in having made so great an disposal of the Goods as I have – which amounts to $44,000 since landing the Cargo.

The remainder I have taken an hasty Inventory of and find a residue of according to the Invoice of $9,000. –

Should a vessel arrive now in the course of a few months with a small and choice Cargo I have no doubt but a ready sale would be had for the Goods if she could be allowed to enter, But of this I entertain some doubt as the General [14] seems determined to exclude all foreign commerce unless the duties can be paid in Cash – and on this account two vessels which touched at Monterrey were obliged to leave without doing any thing. I cannot but regret that you did not dispatch a vessel conformable to the desire of Mr Gale, which had you coincided to ere this I might have disposed of every article and at a good profit – We have every prospect that produce will be in good demand towards the spring and Cottons have already risen in value as well as demand – for although I have disposed of them at $10 for Hides only have latterly sold them at $12 pr Bale – and what remains on hand I shall not urge their sale until I may be obliged to by some advices which may arrive for the prompt closure of the concern here. –

I have already given you in a former address the list[15] of such Goods as are most in demand and hope if you have dispatched a vessel you have been choice in your collection as it is of no use to send the rubbish of our market in hopes of meeting with good success here – If Mr Gale is already on his way for this Coast his only recourse will be in case of not being permitted to enter and carrying on the Coasting trade as formerly will to send here such goods as are most saleable and proceed to some other destination from whence he might return and receive his Hides from the different Missions which he would be allowed to do having on board no Cargo. –

As my orders from Mr Gale was to embrace very opportunity to make shipments home even before the arrival of a vessel from the states I have dropped a line to Mr. Shaw to enquire if he would [be] inclined to take what Hides I have ready which are rising 7000 A short time since I gave you information that I had shipped to the Islands and from thence to be reshipped to Canton an Invoice of Sea Otters amounting to four hundred and seventy three – which from all accounts will probably arrive to a good Market and meet with ready purchases – flattering myself with this idea I requested Messrs Russel & Co to use all possible means to remit the proceeds home as soon as possible (on ac^{t} of owners Ship Brookline) to your House Of all the debts Contracted by Mr Gale left with me for Collection only one have I been able to recover – and untill a vessel arrives it will be impossible – most probably I could have collected a little had I thought prudent to leave the concern We have here but sensible of the insecurity attached to so large an amount of property being left alone and daily in expectation of a vessel I concluded to await her arrival.

With regard to the expenses encured here on the establishment, You may rest assured Gentlemen I have been as economical as possible, and contracted no more than what was actualy neccessary I have had two men continually employed – one on Wages at $20 and one $12 pr Month and when neccessary occasionally added a few Indians.

The new General appears to be very firm and steady in all his alterations and determined to put in force all new laws enacted by Mexico – A few months back the Ports were all open and foreign vessels were allowed the same privileges of the national in respect to trading – but now we have a rumour but no certain authorative that they will be shut with the exception of Monterrey, should this be the case Mr Gale may arrive in the same or similar state that he did before.

If you have not received Letters from me Gentlemen it cannot be because I have not written, for no opportunity have I let pass without giving you some account of my situation. However we must hope for the Best and in case you have sent a vessel he may be prevailed upon seeing that vessels cannot and will not pay their duties in Cash –. The Government Certainly cannot stand it long without some assistance from Mexico which they have been in expectation of together with a vessel of War to secure their Coast, but as yet nothing of the kind has made its appearance and they may yet have to return to their old Customs

You may have heard how a few of the foolish formed a plan[16] to break up the Missions and divide the property among the Indians and in order to bring their intentions into execution ere the new Governor could arrive they placed Administrators in several and had General Victoria been detained but a few months longer the Country would have been destroyed entirely but most fortunately he became acquainted with their designs and made haste to prevent its taking its course which he did most effectually and sent off some of the named office holders with a flea in their ear, had this nonsensical plan taken effect it would have been the ruin of Commerce here entirely after a few years and brought forward trouble and continual War with the Whites and Indians who no sooner having taken possession of their portion than they would have sold them for Blankets and Rum and had resource to thefts and roguery to support their ungovernable thirst for vice.

The vessels now on the Coast that are trading for Hides, Horns, & Tallow are One Ship & Brig belonging to Mr Vermond[17] under Mexican Colors – Two Brigs appertaining to Mr Anderson[18] and the Barque Volunteer – which last vessel has been employed in the trade for the last 12 mos. and the American Consul[19] at the Islands has so managed as to keep always supplied with a Cargo by sundry other vessels to replenish her with Goods – and it is through his eagerness to monopilize the trade that the fall of Goods has been so great – but it will not in my opinion be of much advantage to him nor can it be possible he will be able to continue in his designs – unless he can purchase Goods much Cheaper at the Islands than they can be bought for in the States. – He has for some time been endeavoring to get a vessel under the Mexican Flag but to no purpose, and from what I have understood the General is no great friend to his designs or to any of the vessels that come from the Islands and I have it from good authority that he is determined for the future to prevent all such vessels from having the same privilidges of those who may come from the States – to say the truth he thinks that they are too much given to cheating. Most probably on the arrival of Mr Shaw you may be made acquainted with the trick I did him and how I was the Cause of his losing the sale of two or three thousand dollars. It is a story that He and Cap^t Bradshaw have made known to every comer in order to prevent my treating them in the same way as they style it – but it is nothing more nor less than this

– On his arrival here I requested that he would take on board for San Diego some Goods which I had sold to one of the Missions to Leeward and at the same time showed him the Bales – and also to Capt Bradshaw they acquiesced, and during the abscence of Mr Shaw they were recv^{d} on Board – on his return he made a great fuss and said he had no idea that I was going to fill the Ship entirely – I then observed to him that he certainly saw before he consented to take them what quantity there was – and if he did not wish to take them that he was at liberty to land them again – but no he did not wish to go to the trouble as they were now on board and might remain – Consequently they were carried to San Diego and there remained on board till a few days before her departure without the Priest of the Mission being aware of their being on board the vessel. And certainly if the Padre was ignorant that they were they could have been of no opposition to Mr Shaw's business and he certainly has acted very foolish indeed in endeavouring to prevent the exportation of my Goods by water by spreding through jealousy so finely a made up story. The vessels trading here from Mexico and Lima have been a great deal more accomadating and have always taken on board whatever I requested – But Shaw made known throughout the Coast that he would take no kind of Goods that was for or from me – And thus you see Gentlemen I have had to fight more with my own Countrymen than with Foreigners, and the difficulty attatched to carrying on business here without the assistance of a vessel. I merely have stated this that in case the owners of the Pochahontas should mention any thing of the kind after the arrival of Shaw that you might do me the favour to explain to the contrary of what they may affirm. Besides the Hides that I have already given you an account of, I have on hand three Hundred and fifty four Bags Tallow and Ten Thousand Horns, and the remainder of the debts due me to be paid in Hides only – Otters I have only few in the House but have a prospect of very soon of receiving sufficient to make a shipment to Canton That is I received a Letter from a Priest stating that he had on hand for me one hundred. Thus far Gentlemen you see what I have done – and if it does not meet your expectations it cannot be that I have not endeavoured to overreach them. My transactions have been all for the best and conducted according to the best of my abilities, and with a desire to fulfil the charge laid upon me in a way most satisfactory to my owners. All that I wish for is that I may soon hear from you in Letter or through the arrival of Mr Gale whose arrival has been anxiously looked for day after day. Accordingly Gentlemen should I have no opportunity of writing to my friends I ask the favour that you will make known to them of my being well and also when I may be expected to return for of that You will be better able to judge than I. –

Anxious for the arrival of the long looked for vessel I remain Gentlemen

Your most Ob^{t} Ser^{vt}

Messrs Bryant & Sturgis[20] St Barbara Oct^{b} 23^{d} – 1832

Gen^{t}

Yours dated June 4th. 1831 was handed me rather at a late period owing to the unfortunate accident of the Brig[21] off the Cape – notwithstanding her delay was somewhat disadvantageous to me through the prompt arrival of other vessels to operate against me I have at last collected more than sufficient to dispatch her home. Consequently She is now ready for Sea, having on board 14 522 Salted Hides, 15600 Horns and Casks contg 59 Beaver Skins. You may be surprised Gentlemen that I should have sent her immediately to the States instead of obeying your instructions in respect to the propriety of dispatching her to Lima, but various are my reasons for not so doing and do really consider it the only and most possible manner of making an advancement towards settling the voayge of the Brookline. In the first place it would have been a great risk to have detained the Hides here this Winter owing to the heavy Rains and to the bad state of the House which could not without some considerable expence be made secure and not only this, but through the turbelent state of the Country, I deemed it necessary to get the property secured as soon as possible, for where there is no Law or Justice to where are we to look for redress in Case of a disposition to anoy us? not to a rebellious and unlawful usurper. In fact the Country is so situated that should any thing of the kind happen all we could do would be to bear it patiently and make the most of if. –

In the second place, I communicated with Mr Gale[22] and took his advice as to the propriety of acting as I have and hope it will meet with your aprobation – the probability of having an opportunity soon to freight to Lima also tended to strengthen my opinion as to sending the Brig home, and through the arrangements which I have made with Mr Gale She would be of no use whatever to me now as it respects the collecting of debts, and it would be only an unnecessary expense to detain her longer. The Hides which are collected hereafter will be delivered to Mr Gale with whom I have entered into an agreement that he shall receive what debts are collected in Hides by allowing me 14^{rs} each and to give me a draft for the same on your house. Thus you see Gentlemen had you sent me a larger Vessel it would not only have been more profitable to the Owners of the Brookline Concern but to me, and I cannot but express my regret that you did not send me as it was your first intention the Ship Sachem which had you so done she might have been dispatched equally as soon as the Brig. The number of Hides now left behind already collected are about three Thousand, and Tallow about Seven Thousand Arroba. The expence of carrying on the salting establishment[23] and freighting the Hides would be so extravagant that it could not be done to any advantage and I think the manner in which I have thought fit to dispose of them, to be of much more real interest to my owners. The Cargo of the Plant is nearly all sold and had it been better selected might have yielded more profit to the concern, in fact nearly all excepting a very few articles were a drudge in the market, and with much difficulty have I been able to dispose of them. One case Confectionary arrived short and the rest in rather a poor condition. The Wheel also to the Church Bell was missing, and Lumber Four M less than the invoice probably used for repairing the damage sustained by the accident off the Cape – The amount of the Cargo now remaining on hand as per Invoice rated is about $900 and that of the Brookline $1500 the am^{t} of debts still due me about $10,000. I have also shipped on board the Plant 316 Sea Otter Skins and given orders to Capt Rutter[24] to touch at the Islands to land them with Mr Henry Peirce with also Letters addressed him to forward them the first opportunity to Canton on a/c of the late Owners of the Ship Brookline. My principal motive for so doing is that it is not always that we can meet with opportunities to ship to the Islands and knowing that the detention would not be great and serve to give a more favorable time for her arrival on the American coast.

Pr Plant

Mr Henry A Peirce St^{a} Barbara O^{ct} 25th. 1832

Sir

Your two Letters dated April 17th and June 5th came to hand and the contents were noted – The two Brigs which you observed in your last were to touch here, I have not as yet received any intelligence from – My great object in now addressing you is to request you would receive from on board the Plant, 2 Casks Containing (as pr Bill Lading enclosed) 316 Sea Otter Skins the same you will please forward to Canton unto Mess^{rs} Russel & Co

In case Cap^{t} Rutter should stand in need of any thing your attention will be acknowledged by

Yours Respectfully
A Robinson

P.S. Since writing the above I have received intelligence from Monterrey stating that the Brig Smyrna had touched there and left for the Islands – had she have come here I could have given Cap^{t} Barker a full freight for Lima or some Otter Skins for Canton

Cap^{t} John Rutter St Barbar 26th Oc^{t}. 1832

Sir

The Brig Plant being now ready for Sea, I have thought fit to give you in a few lines a form which will be necessary for you to maintain until your arrival in Boston – In the first place as it has been thought profitable to dispatch the Brig to the Islands, you will there proceed and deliver unto

Mr Henry A Peirce, the 3 Casks containing as pr Bill Lading 316 Otter Skins. Should you discover after leaving this Port that the worms are numerous it would be advisable to overhaul and repack them, and I should wish to impress on your mind that it will be necessary to make your stay as short as possible & that your only object is to land the Skins.

Immediately after which you will proceed direct for Boston and it would be advisable also to observe great attention to the Beaver Skins and overhaul them often.

The Hides I leave to your judgment but should caution you to take particular care that neither dampness nor anything damageble should approach them.

My Papers you will deliver unto Messrs Bryant & Sturgis

Wishing you a safe and expeditious Voayge I remain &c

St Barbara
[January 1833][25]

Messrs Bryant & Sturgis
Gen^t

I take advantage of the sailing of a Schooner from this place bound direct to S^t Blas to give you notice of the departure of the Plant which occured on the 31^st of October last – Should you receive this previous to her arrival in Boston it will no doubt be agreeable to know her Cargo, and of *Course* my proceedings. She had on board when ready for Sea as pr Bill Lading 14,522 Salted Hides, 15,600 Horns & 59 Beaver Skins – also a small Invoice Otter skins (316) which I presumed necessary for the Brig to touch & land at the Islands –

Since the Sailing of the Plant but little advancement have I made towards the closing of the Brookline's Concern, and cannot but regret day after day that you did not send me a large Vessel sufficient to have carried home all proceeds of the Cargoes

The number of Hides Collected and delivered over to Mr Gale up to this date are 3301 and I am in hopes before the California leaves to increase the number to four Thousand – Debts at this time of Year come in slow owing to the less quantity of Hides in Market and of course it will be an utter imposibility for me to make a final close to the balances before the departure of the Ship.

The Tallow (which I did not dispatch to Lima for reasons expressed in a letter pr Plan^t) remains here yet and I think the only prospect of shipping it will be by Roxana.

I leave tomorrow for to windward in the Brig[26] with hopes of closing my accounts there so as to leave behind as few unsettled as possible. My object (as expressed to you before) is to leave in the Ship[27] for Boston –

and leave the residue of accounts in the hands of Mr Gale for collection.

P.T.O.

The California is now in St Diego Loading. She will probably be ready by the first part of Mch to sail.

Messrs Bryant & Sturgis St Barbara March 28th 1833.

Gen^t

You will receive enclosed Bill of Exchange on your house for $6801 that of which on account of 3888 Hides delivered to Mr Gale up to this date on account of the late Owners of the Ship Brookline at the rate of $1.75 each with the exception of 3 of them at 75¢.

Since my last hasty epistle forwarded via Mexico I have made a small progress towards closing the old concern[28] and being anxious to meet you with the grace of one after a good conclusion to a good beginning, I have thought best to tarry a while longer[29] and not incumber Mr Gale with a load of old debts to collect, when he has a proportionable quantity of his own to look out for.

You may undoubtedly suppose that I am very negligent in finishing the business of the voayge and that the length of time might have been less, but I assure you Gentlemen no exertion on my part has been wanting to have realized its consumiation. — The manner in which I am now situated is rather unfortunate as at present I have no means of getting rid of the Tallow collected during the last two years, & the prospect that I had of shipping it to Lima, I fear will not be accomplished — consequently my whole dependence now is making an exchange for Hides with those who are trading for Tallow. — Of Course, *which should I do*, it would be done to some sacrifice and in my opinion it is the only and best way to get rid of it.

The amount of debts still outstanding are rising nine thousand dollars and the value of the goods now remaing at the lowest calculation are worth twelve hun^d — The Tallow on hand probably would amount to in exchange for Hides (to say) Eight Thousand dolls this together with a small lot of (35) Otter Skins will give you an idea of the amount of property — still in the Country. This Season I hope will bring an end to it or nearly, for I assure you I have had a hard time of it and cannot but wonder at your supposing that I should be able to effect it with the Plant — I repeat it in a former Letter that the Sachem ought to have been dispached to have increased the realization of the property at home but as it is we must make the best of it.

As early as possible I shall endeavour to leave for Boston and the manner in which Mr Gale and myself have agreed to assist each other in our collections (I imagine) will be advantageous to both of us & serve to expedite a closeure sooner than if otherwise situated.

The situation of the Country is at present tranquil, a new Governor having arrived from Mexico, who from appearances is favorable to a continuation to foreign trade, and permits the same regulations to continue as established by his predecessor, undoubtedly there will be no change to the contrary as I judge by the expressions of the General.

Messrs Bryant & Sturgis St Barbara March 28th 1833
Gentlemen

Since writing Mr Gale has proposed that the California should return to this Coast with the sole purpose of closing up the voayge which cannot otherwise be done to advantage, in which case should it be agreeable to you I should like the privilege of having a Concern in the new voayge. Consequently (if it can be accomplished) I wish you to purchase the interest held by Capt Cunningham[30] from him and debit me with the a/c out of my Commissions if it cannot be done (he not willing to sell) and you determine to fit out according to the proposition please pay over to Mr Gale the amt of 1/16 of the new expedition from the same source and charge my account with it, and we can settle out here for what may be left after the Roxana leaves, this will give me one quarter of his quarter and leaves all standing in the same manner as heretofore (pr Ship California)

Messrs Alsop & Co[31] Sta Barbara June 1833
Gentn

Inclosed you will receive Invoice & Bill Lading of Bags containing say [blank] arrobas of Tallow which I desire you will dispose of to the best advantage, Guarantee the Sales, and remit the proceeds unto Messrs Bryant & Sturgis Merchants of Boston on acct of the late owners of Ship Brookline in Dollars or Plata-Piña[32]—

Probably you have already been addressed by them giving their advice under the circumstances that I should make a shipment to your House and requesting that you would make prompt sales of the same, should it not however be the case I take the advantage to make known that it is very desireable that the Tallow should be disposed of as soon as possible & I think it most prefarable that it should be sold afloat rather than to have it landed — this however I leave to your judgement and only request you be as expeditious as possible in remitting the proceeds to the United States and I remain your Obt Servt.
A R.

Messrs Bryant & Sturgis Sta Barbara Sept. 23d 1833.
Gentlemen

You will receive enclosed Invoice & Bills Lading of 200¼ lbs. Beaver skins shipped on board Brig Roxana and on account of the late Owners of Ship Brookline — also Bill of Exchange on your House for amount of 1890

Hides delivered to Mr. William A Gale up to this date at the rate of 175c ea – You will perceive by the General Statement forwarded the whole transaction of the Brookline Concern from the period of her departure up to the date of the 30th of August last – since which there has been some little variation caused by an increase of Sales & Purchases –

The whole amt of Debts outstanding and still remaining due are $3958.93 – half the amount of which I have but small hopes of recovering at present under the existing mode of administering justice – The Tallow I mentioned to you in a former Letter that I had a prospect of shipping to Lima pr. Dn. Quixote,[33] I accordingly did ship on the 24th of June last 756 Bags containing $6226\frac{20}{25}$ arrobas with the impression that (as understood and agreed upon by Capt. Hinckly) the vessel was to proceed immediately from this place to Sn Pedro, there to take in a quantity of Tallow on freight belonging to the Mission of St Gabriel and continue on direct for Lima – After which shipment I had occasion to go to windward and with the idea in the interim to collect as much more Tallow on accts of the debts due me as possible in hopes of overtaking the Barque in Sn Pedro, but without any promise made to Capt. Hinckly that I would embark more – On my arrival back (judge my surprise) I learned that Capt Hinckly had sold the Brig Crus[a]der to the Mission and thereby lost his freight of the Tallow, and to crown all had agreed to take the pay in Hides, which according to his intention were to be Salted and shipped in the Dn. Quixote for Lima – his intentions were accomplished so far as relates to the curing of his Hides & the detention of his vessel and giving the owners of the Crusader an opportunity to get their Tallow to Lima before ours – I remonstrated with Capt Hinckly that he should have so decived me in endeavouring to make me suppose that he was going to embark the Tallow belonging to the Mission when even at the time I was embarking ours in my opinion he had partly contracted the sale of the Crusader & which purchase he could not but have been aware was for the sole purpose of getting their Tallow to Market first –

His only plea was (no excuse) that after he had sold the Brig the purchaser refused to comply with his contract (not having been a written one) and that application here for justice would have been useless – The fact is (in my opinion) it was perfectly understood between them – I made known to Hinly that I should expect that he would be responsible for all damages that might arise from his alteration of *plans* and all that he could say was (not a very excellent excuse) that we had made no stipulation as to the length of time that he should be here on the Coast or was it given in writing –

Consequently Gentlemen I have written to Messrs Alsop & Co making a statement of the whole transaction and requesting that they would lay claims for whatever damage either by detention or damage of worms –

As it respects the closing the business of the Brookline Concern I have and shall continue to use every exertion for its final completion – The Balance of Debts remaining are small but in slow hands and it will require some patience to await their payments – My expences are curtailed to merely my board and whatever freight I shall for the future have to pay in getting the Hides from other places to this Port. The number of Sea Otter Skins on hand are 108 Prime which I shall ship to Canton the first opportunity that offers – The whole amount of Tallow shipped to the House of Messrs Alsop & Co is 6728½ arrobas with orders to make prompt sales of the same – to guarantee and remit the proceeds in Dollars or Plata Piña to your House on acct of the late Owners of Ship Brookline.

I requested pr Plant that you would secure the amount of Capt. Coopers Debt by trusteeing the property said to be held in the hands of the Dorrs[34] since which it has fortunately been recoved here –

With my best respects Gentlemen
I remain your Obt Servant
Alfred Robinson

P.S. You will probably perceive a difference in the Balance of accts due from Individuals here on the departure of the Brookline, when you have compared my statement with that given in by Mr Gale and it is owing to a part of them being open accts and have since been carried into my Sales. I hand you Duplicate Bill of Exchange for $6801 drawn by Mr Gale on your House on acct of 3888 Hides – the former having been his enclosed to you in a Letter pr California – Also Duplicate Debenture Certificate of Goods pr Plant –

Yours &c

Mr Henry Peirce
Sta. Barbara Dec 20 1833

Dear Sir

Enclosed you will receive Bill Lading of 114 Sea Otters Skins shipped in the Cutter Maraquita Sherman Peck[35] master & consigned to your care – You will please ship them on the first opportunity unto Messrs Russel & Co Canton on acct of the late owners Ship Brookline & at the same time remit by same conveyance the Letter addressed to their house containing Invoice &c.

It will be necessary in all probability to overhaul the skins on their arrival at the Islands from fear of worms – and your prompt attention as to securing their shipment on the first Vessel will much oblige &c.

Your Hble Sevt.

S^n^ Francisco
Messrs B S & Co.[37] [March 24 - April 21][36] 1834

Gentlemen —

Having already addressed you in unison with Mr W A Gale giving a hasty opinion of the prospects to be entertained in the continuation of a trade with California I have but little to add — By your Letter pr California I observe that you have acceded to my wishes in allowing me the honor to be concerned with you in the new voyage to this coast, and accordingly express my gratitude — you also relate the falling short of 50 Hides in the Plants cargo and that Capt. Rutter attributed it to a mistake in the embarking of them here — should this be the case he can blame no one but himself as I depended upon his account altogether & the Bill Lading expressed the number *only* as given in by him — no doubt it is so, as they remain a few without my being able to account for the cause —

The Brookline concern I hope will be entirely closed that I may remit you pr California a conclusive acct of the voyage — a heavy part of the remaining debts (more than one half) is due from one Individual — no doubt I shall have considerable dificulty in securing of it — but rest assured Gentlemen every exertion to complete it will be used —

On the 20th of December I shipped to the Sandwich Islands to the care of H. Peirce & to be remitted to Canton 114 prime Sea Otter Skins on acct of the late Owners of Ship Brookline the Hides as fast as collected will be delivered onto the Ship —

The California trade at present is brisk and we have a good demand for Goods of every description, each year approaching to a greater consumption — but how long it will last I cannot say for the arrival of a few vessels might glut and distroy the demand for awhile — no doubt Hides will be as plenty as has ever been known and from the determinations of the Priests of the Missions I judge we shall soon get a cargo for the California at any rate without a greater detention than she met with last Voyage.

The Goods received were pretty well assorted and I think will all sell without much trouble — in some articles it would have been better had there been more — particularly — Apes,[38] Beaverteens, checks, Sewing Silks, and Brown Cottons — the latter is all sold at this port & Monterey with the exception of 10 or 12 Bales — which will be hardly sufficient to supply the ports to Leeward — the ordinary Cloth was rather *too fine* for the Missions & comes *too* expensive to make it an object for them to buy — however it will sell and give a good profit — The calicoes were very well adapted and go off well — in fine it was a good selection but at this time had there been more it would have been better — The Vessel that you intended to be despatched in the Spring will arrive rather at a late season for this Year and after the completing of the yearly slaughter, so that she will have to depend on the next year for a return cargo

Your kind offer I embrace (as it respects being concerned &c) but I believe but with very little hopes of doing much for myself — a deduction of 2½ pr ct from my former Commissions of course must make a considerable to me & assure you Gentlemen it requires as much activity and hard work now to dispose & collect a cargo as formerly & and we have a fair prospect that Competition will add to my labour — You observe that you will allow "6 pr ct in case that both remain and five if only one of us" — really I cannot see why there should be a deduction when it is very evident that the employment of one will be augmented for the want of the other and I hope you will please blot from that contained in the above inverted Commas all excepting the two first words — I have no doubt but you will see the justice of it & feeling confident that you will acquiesce, I conclude by saying that you may depend upon my every exertion to accomplish a good voyage — &

Believe me Gent. I am
Your obt. Servant &c

Messrs B S & Co S^n^ Diego March [14-27][39] 1835
"pr Lagoda"[40]

Gent^n^

Unfortunately through detention in Monterey and the quick despatch of the California[41] I was unable to address you or communicate with Mr Gale in respect to the arrival of the Pilgrim —
It was a source of displeasure I assure you when I received intelligence that the Ship left S^n^ Diego on the same day that I left above with the intention of proceeding directly to where I supposed she was still loading — Accordingly as I could not complete my desires in informing you of the general prospect to be entertained in the result of this voyage, I now embrace the sailing of the Lagoda (Capt. Bradshaw) to express my opinion and detail a score of difficulties pending and caused by an alteration of your plan respecting the proposed "New Voyage" to California

The Brig[42] in S^ta^ Barbara on the 15^th^ of Jan^y^ last and in my absence, having left with an intention of visiting Mr Gale & adjusting affairs to our mutual satisfaction — but of course I returned immediately on receiving intelligence of the event & made sail directly for Monterey —
On my arrival after presenting a Manifest of the cargo, the Custom House demanded the duties in Cash, they having come to a determination a few months previous to admit no vessel whatever without such compliance — figure to yourselves Gentlemen my embarassment, not having one Dollar on board — how to act or how to proceed I did not know & after three days conflict I prevailed upon them to receive a portion in Goods, with a threat that if they did not accede to that I should despatch the vessel to some other destination — Such would have been the result had they not complied

& now I have to run the risk of collecting together (which is almost an impossibility) seven thousand Dollars –

The whole amount arising from the Duties to be pd is about $16000 and the amount actually pd to this date a little better than $9000 – the amt of Sales $29016 – and number of Hides collected are two thousand –

I tried every possible means to borrow money in Monterey to satisfy the first payment of $7953, but was forced to sell Goods at a very low price to obtain the amt – the Brandy secured me a little better than $4000, and my friends in S^ta^ Barbara and elsewhere have assisted me gathering sufficient to sattisfy the remainder. Of course I shall always remain in debt and depend solely upon the prospect of your sending me money in the Ship – If you will refer to yours addressed to Mr Gale & myself dated Sept. 30th 1833, when the proposition was made respecting the fitting out of another Ship you will find that you gave every supposition that money would be the "*chief item* and when I consented to receive this consignment it was with the idea that I should have only to purchase a cargo without the difficulty of disposing of another –

Also you will perceive wherein you make mention of the uncertainty of either of us being present and in such case you consider the necesity of sending some one in the vessel to conduct the voyage, and "some one that can get along with the business" – to this person you will have to allow some Commission & by such consideration you reduce our usual Compensation to make provision for the satisfying of another –

Judge my surprise on the arrival of the Pilgrim with a large and valuable Cargo at this time of Year & and at a time when the whole Coast is glutted with mdse & judge my astonishment that this "some one" had not come to dispose of the *Cargo* – Believe me only on account of my having written you that I would receive the Vessel has induced me to attempt the disposal of her cargo & the purchasing of another & as it is, had the person come in the Brig you contemplated sending I doubt whether I should have attempted any farther move than giving my assistance in the commencement – however it is too late to repent & I must make the best of a bad bargain – depend upon it Gent. I shall use all my exertions to make a saving voyage –

At the present moment business is quite dull owing to an attempt to make a revolution a few days since in "*El Pueblo de los Angeles*" and was the cause of some considerable excitement as it respects the safety of property – the Party did not succeed fortunately and the leaders of the plot were imprisioned and at present the country is tranquil[43] – [Space] The cargo was very well adapted had Goods been in demand as they were when the California arrived – the Prints all of them are very much liked & undoubtedly will sell well – The Cottons I have only disposed of two Bales – vessels from the Islands having introduced such a quantity and disposed of them at such prices that I have concluded best to hold on upon them for the present – the 30 yard pieces are preferable on account of having to sell by the p^s and they have never been accustomed to give over $14 – of course to make the others equally productive we should have to sell by the Yard –

The Molasses I have engaged at 75¢ pr Gallon having been obliged to dispose of it at the same rate as that pr California –

The Italian Paper is all gone but a few Reams & brings readily 7 & $8 pr Ream – much more profitable than our paper –

The French Challe I have sold what was of sufficient length for Dresses and the best patterns at $2 pr Yard and a considerable quantity might have been disposed of – The Wool Hats it is folly to send the Duties on ea are 25d and it is impossible to obtain over that price for them –

What is most in demand at present and what will sell readily is a large quantity of Furniture assorted & Lumber. If the Ship arrives entirely loaded with these articles I imagine I shall have but little difficulty to dispose of them – The richer the Goods & finer the more readily they sell – such as fig^d Muslin Shawls – Calicoes – Dresses in Good Patterns – the clothing you sent out is nearly all sold – it would be better to be more particular in the making of apparel as it would not only sell more readily but afford a greater profit –

We have *Dandies here* as well as at *Home* The fact is the Country has entirely altered and the taste of the People has become more refined – what sold readily when I arrived in the Brookline now they will not look at & He or she that can make the greatest shew in Dress or Fashion is noted as the Gentleman or Lady –

It is impossible for me to say what Goods will best suit or give a description of that that will best suit the Market –what is now in demand probably ere a Vessel could arrive from the States would be a drudge & the only thing – as it respects Fancy & Staple Goods is to send the latest fashion and most shewy colours – they are fond of everything new – Most probably I shall leave this Country after having completed the business of this Voyage – I hardly think it worth my while to be spending the best of my days here with so little recompense – had you not reduced my commissions, probably I might have been induced to remain and you must be aware that it makes a considerable difference to me – the offer of yours pr California & my former compensation –

I have empowered Mr Gale to settle my business in the event that I should not be able to meet you & I hope the Accts remitted by him will be to your sattisfaction –

Enclosed you will receive Debenture certificates and Duplicate Bill of Exchange on acct of the late owners of Ship Brookline –

The accts of this Company are as you will observe by the acct current nearly concluded and $14000 of the balance is due from one person Man[1]

Dominguez shall use every exertion to collect it this season – I have to make known the wonder that I received not one Letter from my friends in Boston – it is very singular indeed & I cannot believe that they were aware the Brig was coming to this coast direct – If such is the case I cannot but regret that you did not do me the kindness to make known to them the opportunity offered, that they might have availed the occasion to have given me a moments happiness – I remit you a copy of a Letter to Messrs Russell & Co. Canton, to prove that I shipped a quantity of Otter Skins to be disposed of & proceeds remitted to your House on acct of Mr Gale –

The accts remitted by Mr G will shew the actual number of Skins shipped including those left behind by Mr G & I hope to convince him that they were remitted that you will observe the whole number of Sales in Canton & see if they agree with my Shipments –

They ought to have been sold & proceeds remitted to your House on his acct as required in my Letter to them –

Messrs B S & Co Sn Diego May 1st 1836

Gentlemen

I addressed you pr Lagoda & gave a fair idea of what might have been expected as far as regards the "new voyage" & from the tenor of other Letters which I have written via Mexico you will be enabled to form some judgement of what has been my situation –

I have had a hard time of it I assure you & you must not suppose that it is as easy to get a cargo here now as formerly & from a list of Hides collected since the California left which I intend to annex you will observe the decrease in quantity of the yearly Matanzas – you mention the probability that the Alert will have sailed for Boston on the arrival of the California[44] here, depend upon it, it is not for want of exertion but for lack of sufficient to fill her – Competition has been as usual & throughout the year we have had the Ship Rosa which vessel left only in February last – Brig Loriot – Brig Catalina – Brig Ayacucho – Brig Avon – Brig Clementine & several other smuggling vessels[45] –

The accts of the Californias last voyage have nearly all been collected that ever will be & the Goods that remained unsold most of them are disposed of – it has been my particular care to keep separate the sales of them from those of the other cargoes – the Brookline Concern also have a small shipment probably unexpected –

the Hides shipped on acct of the old concern I have thought proper to exact a freight of one dollar pr Hide being the usual charges after salting –

[Space]

&nly[46] & also Menendez & Aguirre[47] – the Leonor[48] is expected daly & Ayacucho is to remain all the year collecting debts – so that together with

Steele Hinckly[49] & one or two others there will be a fine lot of us & at least ten vessels for each port on the coast –

I have embarked in the Alert Boxes containing specimens of Natural History addressed to your care & to be embarked in Boston the first opportunity for Hamburgh

The Owner is a particular friend of Mr Gale & undoubtedly ere this you may have had the pleasure of his acquaintance – he having left this Coast in January last to return to his Country via Los Estados Unidos del Norte in company with Baron Merryhoff & Ladd

Respecting the freight the House in Hamburg will satisfy all expenses & it is the request of Mr Deppe[50] that the Cases may not be opened in the Custom House if possible to avoid it – enclosed you will find a small scrap of paper on which is written the address of the House to which the Boxes are consigned.

A Mr Nutall[51] searcher of specimens of Natural History & Curiosities having made application to me for passage in the Alert & having come with Letters of introduction from Mr Jones at the Islands for the express purpose I could not but consent that he should embark & whatever charges you think proper to make can be settled in Boston – as yet he has not enquired the expense & we have had no conversation respecting the probable cost of passage –

The Alert is now nearly loaded – it is my intention to send at least forty thousand Hides if she can take them & should I be so fortunate I can have the flattery to say that I have dispatched the largest Cargo ever collected on the Coast of Californa – & I hope they may[52] turn out in as good order as those pr California & arrive to as good a Market.

I cannot promise that I will continue receiving consignments after the completing of the cargo of the California & it at first was my intention not to had any thing to do with her, but owing to the amount of debts due & amount of property remaining on hand I concluded (as it was your intention) to work the two voyages –

In the event that I should not continue I think with the knowledge Mr Park[53] may possess & the assistance of Mr Everett[54] things can be conducted as much to your satisfaction as they have been & I conclude Gentlemen by subscribing myself your Obt Ser^{t}

A R

Messrs B S & Co S^{n} Diego May 5th 1836
Gentlemen

Yours per Alert came to hand on the 20th of May 1835 & I could not but feel surprised that my Letter written in acceptation of your proposal had not been received & Consequently I embrace this conveyance to hand you duplicate –

The Alert arrived on this Coast in a very good season of the year and I met with pretty fair luck in disposing of her cargo, although many articles were of rather a dull sale – the Flour I sold readily at $14 pr Bbl & could have disposed of twice the quantity – Rice & sugar we always fall short of and it would be better to send more of each, linen is always saleable – as it respects Dry Goods all that is necessary to observe in selecting a Cargo is to have something well assorted, not too much of any article, particularly Calicoes with the exception of Blue Prints should be each package different – those pr Pilgrim that sold for $16 readily now will hardly realize $12 & the reason is that after one trip is performed down the coast they fall in demand & the People embrace every new style that offers & what is once laid aside becomes a drudge

Fancy articles generally sell well – All the Pocket Silk Hdkfs were sold immediately & without any trouble & I cannot but repeat that they are fond of useing in this Country anything that in style is new rich & shewy & in many respects they do not hesitate much in regard to the cost –

Hides have been very scarce for the last year & the probability is that they never will be so plenty as they have been & my Competition has consisted of the Ship Rosa which left in February Brig Ayacucho, Brig Loriot – Brig Avon & Brig Clementine & Brig Catalina – The whole number of Hides collected by these vessels & what you will receive by the Alert cannot excede 65000 consequently you must perceive that I have had the greatest share & that it has not been for lack of exertion that she was not dispatched as soon as you anticipated – By the Ship Lagoda I gave you a fair idea of what might have been expected in the "New Voyage" & from the tenor of other Letters via Mexico you must have become already learners of how I have been situated & what I have undergone in its management – setting aside the class of people I have had to deal with in carrying into effect the intentions of the voyage & who have caused me so much unhappiness, I have had a great deal too much to bear, of the perplexities & responsibility and you can have no idea just how it has worn upon my constitution – People seem to suppose that they have come here to do just as they like and pay as little respect to my orders as they think proper and only to sail about & enjoy themselves wherever it offers – to say that I have had a person with me interested or who professed any good wishes at all for the benefit of the voyage, would be a falsity & the Hides I think will prove to you in their appearance that every one is not like unto Capt Arther[55] – Oh! that they were & I should have passed rather a more pleasant time of it – had it not been for Mr Everett I do not know what I should have done, through his exertion & good will & management in conducting the business of the Brig[56] my care was considerably lessened & from his conduct and capacity and interest taken in forwarding the objects the voyage I should reccommend him to your notice – My health was so bad at one time that I had resolved to entrust the business to him in the event that the California arrived without any assistance on board & I assure you Gentlemen he would have been of considerable consequence – being well calculated having a good knowledge of the people – sharp, and possessed of the language sufficient to get along –

I cannot conceive the necessity that any one should have been dispatched for the purpose of becoming a Companion how have I already got along? a good experienced young man acting as clerk would have a better effect & I can only suppose that want of confidence in my abilities could have induced you to have had the kindness to make choice of a partner for me without my knowledge of the intention –

Mr Park may be an excellent man, may be a man of undoubted character & intelligence, but still I do not fell that it will ever be of any good that such a companionship has been forced upon me – I have been alone & used to have things my *own* way & consequently I cannot avoid interfering now & then, which I perceive did not altogether coincide with the feelings of Mr Park – and from various observations I learn sufficient to look into futurity sufficiently forward to know that we never were cut out for each other – however Gentlemen I merely state this that you may be apprised of my opinion, as yet we go along smooth & nothing has occurred to mar our always being upon good terms & friendly –

I cannot give much encouragement for a continuation of these voyages as they never can be so profitable as they have been – the Missions most of them have become ruined[57] & cargoes should be assorted better calculated for the Individual trade – all the old Iron Ware can be dispensed with in such quantities as usually have been sent –

Allow me to express my disaprobation of the exchanging of situations – from Ship to Brig & from Brig to Ship[58] – it has been the cause of a continued disatisfaction & there seems to have been shown a very little disposition to make things agreeable – Capt Faucon's[59] situation has been made less agreeable & Capt T's[60] has been made more pleasant – but my *influence* nor *entreaties* have had any effect towards making them *both* pleasantly situated –

The Brig has been unfortunate on account of Officers & Mr Anderson has had the luck to displease both Captains in such a way that neither will admit of his acting as an officer on board of either vessel. I have offered him a passage home in the Ship –

The old Balance of Accts Ship California have been nearly all paid & the accts been kept seperate when the Goods have been sold –

It is very necessary (if you continue this business) to send at least in each vessel you dispatch $12000 in Specie to enable us to satisfy the duties without being obliged to sacrafice the Goods – I have been most Confoundedly pushed to collect together sufficient to meet the demands on acct of the Pilgrim & Alert and still owe a small amount loaned to me by friends –

The California's "Aforo" amounted to $18000 and one half the Duties are to be paid in cash & *she with only about $3000 on board* – It takes all the money that we can rake & scrape together to pay the wages of the extra hands employed in salting of the Hides and the kind of Cargoes we generally have are not of sufficient goodness to demand Cash – Spanish white Brandy always would be the same as Specie – Sugar – Rice – Flour – & many other articles & it surprising to me that you do not send large quantities of them –

I do not know how long you intend to keep the Brig Pilgrim on this Coast, but I assure you Gentlemen her expenses amount to much more than the Ship & it is folly to think that a small vessel can be more useful than a large one when both can be sailed at the same expence – Capt Faucon is much disatisfied with his lot & says that he had no idea that he was to be employed in collecting Hides for any other vessel than the Alert & after she was dispatched that according to his understanding with you he was to follow –

He is I must confess rather unhappily situated as it respects Officers & Crew & it of course must have been very annoying the idea of giving up so fair a Ship to go in such a dull kind of a Brig – in fact he left a well disciplined Vessel to go where there was no government and most undoubtedly he feels the weight of his agreement –

I wish you would for the benefit of those who may conduct your business endeavour to look out sufficient for the Stores of your vessels for the voyage & then in Case of overplus we can always dispose of what may remain – It is impossible to keep a correct acct of what they use on board & becomes only a torment to me to be obliged to search into the amount of cargo expended in Stores – not only the Duck[61] you allowed the Ship but all that Came out for Cargo has been used up (for what purpose I do not know) & if it has been necessary I leave to your judgement to determine –

The Californias detention this voyage I think will be longer than her last through scarcity of Hides and from cause of Competition which will be very great this season I fear that we shall stand a poor chance – We shall always be most sure of securing a cargo having sufficiently due nearly to fill the Ship – & Poor Steele[62] will have a hard road to travel – the Sandwich Island concern have bought the Bolivar & most probably she is in Monterey now with a large cargo Thompson[63] intends to run us all over going so fast through the water – Cot[64] will be here in [letter ends here]

Mr. Wm. A. Gale [San Diego,
Dear Sir May 5, 1836]

Yours dated Aug 31 & Sept 11th containing acct current between us came to hand and every thing presented to my satisfaction – Your last date Sept 13th Commenses in angry mood & accuses me of what never entered my imagination – my silence in not giving you all information possible of course ere this you have learned the cause & I am sorry that one moment you could have possessed sentiments – *that it was self interested motives that deterred* my addressing you

with this supposition you left the Coast condemning me unheard (as you always have done in our differences) and believing me Guilty of "*ingratitude*" when I longed to express to you the feelings of my heart, the attempt to vindicate myself by Letter would be foolishness and until we meet again I shall lay aside your charges & leave you to reflect or forget the conduct of a *self interested being* –

You observe that I may thank Mr H. Price[65] that you have not entered another concern & given me a competition to fight – no one that you could have sent would have frightened me in the least & I assure you Capt Joe Steele will find it rather difficult to load his two Vessels[66] – and before he leaves the Coast he will wish that he had not left his sweet Polly & the Plough –

We of course on acct of outstanding Debts always will have the best chance & as we have nearly sufficient due to secure a cargo for the California I feel quite at ease and only pity those who may be so unfortunate as to follow – Hides may be scarce & I cannot suppose that the California will be dispatched so soon as the Alert, but should there be any abundance she will leave as early as the next Spring –

You suggest that I should continue the business and remain a few years longer trudging the coast in search of Hides & Tallow – but if you had suffered what I have undergone for the year past you would not say so –

The arrangement I made with the Custom House Department in saving about Ten thousand dollars of the Duties on the Cargoes of the Alert & Pilgrim has kept me in continual fear & occupied my thoughts so much that I became nervous in constitution & almost unfit for business dwelling mostly upon the censure I should have received from B S & Co in case of any difficulty & the heavy responsibility & care attached to me alone, worked so strong upon my feelings that I longed for the day that I might see the stern of the Alert gliding away for the shores of the Atlantic – not this alone – the People that I have had to deal with – You know very well that I like to appear as somebody & have no idea that they shall come out here to tell me what duty I have to perform & what is my situation & how far my authority extends – It is all the same to me who comes but I wish to have impressed upon their memory the necessity of attending to the orders of those who may be left in charge of the Business –

I sometimes think that after collecting a cargo for the California that I shall retire & rest awhile probably take a trip to the United States –

Probably it will be more agreeable to Mr Park to be alone for I have observed that he does not like much my interference on board & you must be aware that I have had so long my own way that I cannot give up the idea of still having it & I dislike very much the necessity of conferring with another in any business which I may want to transact –

However I cannot at present say what I may do, & cannot give any security that I will continue the business or no –

Affairs in California are still rather revolting and it was but the other day that we had a Specimen of the *Lynch Law* in the Pueblo de los Angeles – It seems that a murder had been committed & the wife of the one murdered was accessary to the crime which so enraged the good People that they mustered a force of about 45 Men & proceeded to the Calaboso, took the murderer & the woman out of imprisonment & shot them without any trial – It was the cause of some agitation, but I doubt if Gutierez will have courage enough to take notice of it[67] –

Probably you have heard of the death of Figaroa & that the Government fell to Gutierez – we are now expecting the arrival of a new General[68] who has already embarked at Mazatlan for this coast in the Leonor – Orders have come to deliver the Missions to the Priests again, but it will be many years before they will ever regain what they have lost –

Your Trunk of clothing I was forced to Manifest and pd 100 Dollars duties on the articles intended for Anita[69] In fact I do not know what was the matter with the Gentlemen they appeared to be inclined to give me as much trouble as possible & in their examination went so far as to overhaul the Cabin & our Trunks & were very strict in the Hold of the Ship – undoubtedly with the Idea that they were a going to make a haul & what do you think of it! They had the impudence to offer me a deduction on the duties & priviledge of entering on the same terms that I entered the Alert & Pilgrim – that is calling the Aforo one half which would have been $9000 & the other half would have been divided between us – But of course I immediately refused *y los eche al Carrajo*[70] – and pd the whole amount – The Californias last voyage I shall endeavour to close as fast as possible as yet I have some Goods remaining on hand having the same kind of articles in the Ship & Brig of course I should have had to make a great sacrafice to have disposed of them in S^{ta} Barbara –

Should my Brother call upon you for any small amt not exceeding one or two hundred Dollars (without an order from me) to make use of as occasion may offer of sending me something to California my signature to this Letter & his receipt will be sufficient & you will render me an obligation which I shall be happy to reciprocate –

I have taken the liberty to draw on you in favour of Cap^t Thompson for three hundred & twelve Dollars being for amount of "*clothing*" that I was forced to purchase of him having none sent me in the Pilgrim & I hope you will do me the favour to honour the draft and pass the same to my acct

Yours &c

Messrs William Oliver
& Ozias Goodwin Esqs[71]
May 5th 1836 Sn Diego

Gentlemen

Enclosed you will receive Bill Lading of 235 Hides collected & received from the Mission of "Sn Juan Capistrano" on account of a debt due to the Ship Lagoda & by request of Mr Thos Shaw I have shipped them to your address ,

The whole amount paid by the Mission was $500 which after deducting my commission (6 pr ct) leaves a balance of $470 – The customary freight for Hides has after salting been usualy one dollar pr Hide & consequently I could not do less than charge the same

I remain &c

Messrs B S & Co
Sn Diego May 8th 1836

Gent.

Enclosed you will receive Invoices & Bills of Lading of Hides as pr Lists viz –

On Account Owners Alert	34965
” ” ” California	3500
” ” ” Brookline	300
” ” ” Lagoda	235
Making in all	39.000 Total

The Hides of the Lagoda[72] were received shortly after her departure and a proposition was made by Mr Shaw previous, that I should in case of collecting any amount on his acct receive the Hides at the rate of 13rs or ship them home – the latter I have done (having no authority to draw on you) and presume it will meet with your approbation –

As they came from a source that did not interfere with my business I had no hesitation to receive them and being so small a quantity have squeezed them into the Ship to make the quantity of Hides hold out –

Having already addressed you and given a statement of affairs and wishing that you may receive the cargo to your satisfaction

I remain Yours &c

N B
I have told Mr. Nutall that he must settle the cost of his passage with you –

Messrs Alsop & Co
Sn Diego December 4th 1836

Gentlemen

Yours enclosing Invoices & Bills of Lading of Specie shipped pr Alert came to hand – and the amt has been placed to the disposal of Messrs B S & Co –

I cannot but express my satisfaction for your kind attention in giving me the information of the state of the Lima market respecting the sale of Tallow and I shall esteem it a great favour should you condescend to occasionally remit me accts of its demand – My collection for the last year has been very small and of so little consequence that I deemed it of greater interest to exchange it for Hides in preference to shipping it to Lima – If in any way I can be of service to you in this part of the Globe I shall be happy to receive your commands

& I remain gentlemen your
Obt St A R

Messrs B S & Co Sn Diego Dec 5th 1836

Gentlemen

Yours pr Sarah & Caroline came to hand and the contents noted – Probably ere the date of this, you have received my communication pr Alert and consequently have become acquainted with the situation of affairs as they then stood at the time of the departure of that Ship – since which the country has been in a continual state of anarchy and business on account of which rather hazardous – Our amount of Collection to this date is a little rising twenty two thousand Hides and competition has been so great that it has not been unusual to see at one time five or six vessels in port – The vessel you contemplated sending and which was intended to follow the California I cannot but rejoice that you did not dispatch as anticipated, as at present we have no encouragement for the arrival of one – unless it would be to trust out her cargo and run the risk of losing one half, which certainly would be the case in the event of having a large cargo assortment at a time when things are so unsettled – California has declared itself "*Independent*" – that is, this government will not acknowledge its subjection to the Mexican power until they return to their former federal system – consequently the Mexicans no doubt will use every exertion to have an army here as soon as possible and we must expect some trouble –

The California may be ready to leave as early as June or July –

& I remain yours &c
A R

Mr W A Gale Sn Diego Decem 5th 1836

Mi querido Amigo –

California is indepent! We are free! yes! – at last a few have had the foolishness to suppose that with a handful of men they can oppose the *Mighty* & *Powerful* Mexican Nation –

Federacion o Muerte
es el Californio la suerte —

You will reccollect that in my communication pr Alert I mentioned the arrival of a new General — his name — Señ Chico — and that undoubtedly things would improve respecting government affairs — but I am sorry to say that he acted more like a mad man than a rational being and immediately on his arrival proceeded to the City of Angels with a determination of shooting at least five or six who were concerned in the *scrape of doing justice to a Murderer* and of expelling from the territory all foreigners that in any shape upheld the transaction — Stearns was ordered to leave the Country and Chico returned to Monterey leaving his Govt under Command of G^{z}[73] below — The deputacion then in session had some disturbance with his excellency and gently walked him on board the Brig Clementine for Mazatlan[74] —

Gutierrez took the command and they kept rather a threatening aspect until at once like a clap of Thunder in the ears of the Mexicans was heard the *voice of freedom* — Alverado, & Castro, with a body of Rancheros and foreigners, such as Wood sawyers & Hunters in all to the number of about 250 men entered Monterey and took posession of the Fort — Gutierez having retired within the Precidio — Three American vessels[75] where lying at anchor at the time and through their assistance it is said the Californians were victorious & the General surrendered with all his troops without opposition to an unequal force —

The Officers were immediately embarked and are probably ere this in Mexico —

The excitement of the Mexican Nation will be very great against Americans and added to what already has taken place in Texas I think that they will be so exasperated that we shall all suffer in this quarter, unless we receive protection from our own Govt — Report speaks of Hinckly — French & Steel — as having aided & assisted in the affair — fortunately both our vessels were below at the time and consequently we must be considered innocent although without doubt we shall be treated in like manner with the guilty — My fears are such that that I do not consider our property as safe in the event that a Mexican force should arrive & my humble opinion is that their great object would be plunder & villainy in revenge and ten chances to one if we don't have all our throats cut —

Thus you see my situation & yet you desire that I should continue in the business and conduct a line of Commerce in a Country where I cannot expect the least satisfaction in the event of a disposition to annoy me — Should I not return in the California I shall retire from active business and endeavour to close up the old concerns Mr Park has consented to remain and of Course will have the conducting of the business although I shall not (should I be here) give up my authority to direct the voyage —

I write this pr Ayacucho and merely to acquaint you of affairs at present undoubtedly shall soon have an opportunity direct

---

Messrs B S & Co Sn Diego December 18th 1836

Gentlemen

I wrote you a few days since (via) Lima giving an account of the situation of affairs in this quarter, but presuming that a com[mu]nication might be forwarded by the present conveyance and reach you previous to the arrival of any other I think it prudent to repeat in part what I have already written – A month or little more has now elapsed that we have been disturbed by the anarchy and confusion of a Country whose inhabitants are desirous of becoming in independent nation – The Governor General has been expelled from the territory with his Officers & those who were willing to embark in company, and a new *Star*[76] appeared in the North calling upon his compatriots to take up arms in defence of *their homes, their lives* & *their Honor* –

Consider our situation gentlemen at this crisis – knowing as you do the extent of justice and how administered when the Country has been in its most flourishing state, you cannot but be aware of what will be the effect or what has already been the event of such proceedings and you will see at once we are *relying* not upon the laws of a government to secure us our property, but upon the mere will of a revolted & ignorant population –

Don Mariano G. Balleyo a native, is at the head of affairs[77] and the excitement in favour of the revolution appears to be confined principally to the inhabitants of Monterey – although without doubt had the rest sufficient courage to make known their opinions it would be general throughout the Coast –

Several foreigners have been concerned in the revolt consisting of the lower class of such as &nly[78] – Wood sawyers & Hunters to the number of 50 or 60 and it is said that three American vessels lying in Port at the time rendered assistance in such a way as to Cause the success of the Californians – Undoubtedly Mexico will immediately send a sufficient force to quell the revolution and we must expect difficulty & I stand in more fear of losing property through this bad management than through the unwise proceeding of the Californians –

If a Mexican force should arrive of sufficient power the Country will immediately yield and its situation be degraded and ruined – through the increase of soldiers who are generally depraved & treacherous – Already Texas has caused a jealousy to exist between the Mexicans & the Americans and in the remote parts of the Globe we must suffer the excitement & threats which may proceed from the Americans having again interfered and so publickly given their assistance to secure & protect the federal Constitution – the innocent will suffer with the guilty and he who bears the name of American will be harrassed & imposed upon until exterminated – Our property is unsafe our lives are in danger and we stand in need of protection from our own Gov^t –

The Californians undoubtedly will be ready to leave this Coast as soon as July and possibly before – we have now on hand about twenty three thousand Hides and if fortunate shall complete her cargo in the time stated – You will recollect I declined (pr Alert) to receive any consignment or to be concerned in any vessel which might arrive subsequent to her departure and I wish to remind you that such is still my determination and should circumstances prevent my embarking in the California I shall merely attend to the settling of the old outstanding accts – but nevertheless will do all in my power to aid your affairs in this quarter during the time that I may be detained –

& I remain yours &c –

Mr W^m A Gale. S^n Diego Dec 18^th 1836

My dear friend

I addressed you a few days since pr Brig Ayacucho and gave you a small statement of affairs in this country & now having a more direct opportunity and one perhaps that a communication by such con[v]eyance may reach you in the one via Lima, I cannot but embrace the opportunity to treat in a measure upon our own personal interest – California for the present is not in a situation to encourage speculation to such extent as our Comp^y have wished to conduct, nor do I think it can ever be carried into effect to such advantages, as if their Capital was more limited; as it is my intention to give up the business to the superintendance of Mr Park I suppose you will be equally as anxious to continue to invest something in their voyages *as when I received* their patronage and consequently I take the liberty to present you with my opinion either to appropriate to *your own personal* benefit or to that of [blank]

To make a voyage profitable a cargo should be selected that would not realise when all sold over, sixty thousand dollars – the articles to be choice & to consist of the most saleable of those of our former Invoices so that in one trip down the coast the whole cargo might be disposed of, and if they were goods in demand we should not be anxious to dispose of them on a credit & thus there would not be so great an exposure to loss by bad debts – There is still money to be made but not if the adventurer grasps at too much & you can govern yourself accordingly – As it respects my property if any overplus remains in the hands of B S Co. you will invest it in Stock that you think will be secure & where it will be most for my benefit. I would wish that you would confer with my Bro Hamilton in any conveyance of my funds or to say more clearly in any investment – My return may be in the California & may not and as I have already declined receiving consignments subsequent to the sailing of the Alert, should I remain my attention will be paid to settling up merely of this voyage & all old outstanding accts. I refer you to mine to Mess B S & Co to know the state of affairs –

NOTES

1. All of the letters in Robinson's letter book are not here published. Letters containing duplicate materials, and invoices listing items mentioned in the published letters, are omitted.

2. The brig *Plant,* 208 tons, Captain John Rutter, served as a tender for the ship *Brookline.* The brig left the California coast soon after November 7, 1830. Invoice of salted hides shipped on the *Plant,* Santa Barbara, November 7, 1830 (original, California Historical Society).

3. The ship *Pocahontas,* Captain John Bradshaw, Supercargo Thomas Shaw, came from Boston by way of the Hawaiian Islands, and arrived at Monterey on August 3, 1830. List of arrivals of vessels, Monterey, August 3, 1830, Departmental State Papers, Benicia, Military, 36 vols. in 3, Vols. LIII-LXXXVIII continued from Provincial State Papers, Benicia, Military (transcripts, Bancroft Library), LXII, 28.

4. The ship *Brookline* left California soon after August 17, 1830. William Alden Gale to John Rogers Cooper, Santa Barbara, August 17, 1830, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Documentos para la historia de California, 1713-1851, 36 vols. (originals, Bancroft Library), XXX, 112.

5. Henry Augustus Peirce from 1830 to 1833 was a partner of James Hunnewell, a Boston merchant who engaged in retail trade at Honolulu, and who since 1827 had been the agent of Bryant and Sturgis in the Hawaiian Islands. After Hunnewell returned to Boston in 1830, Peirce was in complete charge of the firm's Honolulu business. Bryant & Sturgis to Peter Allen, Boston, September 25, 1827 (original, in the Bryant, Sturgis, and Company collection, Widener Memorial Library, Harvard University); and Josephine Sullivan, *A History of C. Brewer and Company* (Boston: Walton, 1926), p. 29.

6. The sloop *William Little,* 36 tons, Henry Carter, master, came to California from Honolulu for horses. Henry Carter to Manuel Victoria, Monterey, July 14, 1831, Departmental State Papers, 1821-1846, 20 vols. in 7 (transcripts, Bancroft Library), III, 10.

7. Russell & Company, Canton, served as the agent of Bryant & Sturgis in the Orient.

8. William Sturgis Hinckley had returned from the United States to Honolulu by April 14, 1831. Peirce to James Hunnewell, Honolulu, April 14, 1831 (original, in the James Hunnewell collection, Harvard University Library).

9. Internal evidence establishes the year of this letter as 1831, and the month and approximate day are determined by the fact that Captain John Andrew Christian Holmes, master of the Mexican brig *Catalina,* left Santa Barbara for San Diego on October 29, 1831. Holmes to Cooper, Santa Barbara, October 29, 1831, Vallejo, Documentos, XXX, 256.

This letter is not in Robinson's handwriting, and is copied among the 1833 letters, out of its chronological order.

10. Gale arrived at Boston in the *Brookline* in the spring of 1831. He left in June in the *California,* which arrived at Monterey by December 5, 1831. William H. Boardman to Seth Barker, Boston, June 7, 1831, Boardman Letter Book (original, Widener Memorial Library, Harvard University); and Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (San Francisco, 1891), p. 128.

11. The brig was the *Ayacucho*. The supercargo, Stephen Anderson, was a member of the English commercial firm of James Goldie at Lima.

12. The vessel mentioned was probably the *Eliza* which was loading in Santa Barbara on October 29. Holmes to Cooper, Santa Barbara, October 29, 1831, Vallejo, Documentos, XXX, 256.

13. Reference is made here to the unfinished business of the *Brookline*.

14. Manuel Victoria, governor of California, assumed office at Monterey on January 31, 1831. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco, 1884-1890), III, 182.

15. The list is in the letter dated January 16, 1831.

16. The plan referred to was that supported by José María Padrés and outlined in the secularization decree of José María Echeandía on January 6, 1831. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 184, 305-306.

17. The two vessels owned by Henry Virmond, merchant at Acapulco, and which were on the California coast in 1831, were the ship *Leonor* and the brig *Catalina*.

18. Anderson's two vessels were the *Ayacucho* and the *Eliza*.

19. John Coffin Jones, Jr., merchant and American consul at the Hawaiian Islands, was the owner of the *Volunteer* and other vessels trading in California.

20. This letter and all the following letters to the date March 28, 1833, are not in Robinson's handwriting.

21. The brig *Plant*, Captain John Rutter, was damaged while rounding Cape Horn. The *Plant* and the *California* left Boston in June 1831, but the brig did not arrive in Santa Barbara until February 1842. The *Plant* was sent to help Robinson close up the *Brookline's* business. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 134; and Hunnewell to Cooper, Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 2, 1831, Vallejo, Documentos, XXX, 216.

22. Gale, supercargo of the Bryant & Sturgis vessel, the *California*, was in San Diego at this time. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

23. The salting establishment was at San Diego.

24. See note 21.

25. Internal evidence shows that the date of this letter is between October 31 and March 1. Robinson was on the *Roxana* at Monterey on March 4, 1833, and just before that time was collecting hides in San Francisco, which it had taken him twenty-one days to reach from Santa Barbara. These facts place the time of the letter in the latter part of January 1833. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 146; and Rafael González to the Director of *Rentas* of Mexico, Monterey, March 4, 1833, Departmental State Papers, Benicia, Custom House, 1816-1848, 8 vols. in 1 (transcripts, Bancroft Library), II, 9.

26. The *Roxana* arrived at Santa Barbara in September 1832.

27. The *California* arrived in November 1831.

28. The "old concern" refers to the *Brookline's* unfinished business.

29. Robinson had hoped to return to Boston on the *California*. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

30. William Cunningham, captain of the *California*.

31. Alsop & Company, at Valparaíso and Lima, was founded by Richard Alsop of Massachusetts before Chile obtained its independence. Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), p. 269.

32. *Plata piña* is an amalgam of silver, or crude silver.

33. The bark *Don Quixote* was owned by William Sturgis Hinckley, John Meek, Thomas Meek, and John Ebbets, American merchants resident in the Hawaiian Islands. Peirce to Hunnewell, Oahu, December 28, 1832 (original, in the Hunnewell collection,

Harvard University Library); and Thomas Oliver Larkin to Hunnewell, Monterey, June 1, 1833, *ibid.*

34. Nathaniel Dorr and William Blanchard with Cooper owned the *Rover,* which was in the fur trade between California and China, 1823-1826. Cooper to Dorr, Monterey, October 1, 1832, Vallejo, Documentos, XXX, 321.

35. The *Maraquita* was chartered by John Coffin Jones, Jr., to take horses to the Hawaiian Islands. Sherman Peck to Stearns, February 17, 1834, Oahu (original, in the Abel Stearns collection, Huntington Library).

36. The letter seems to be written soon after the *California* arrived from Boston. The vessel sailed from Monterey to San Francisco, where it remained from March 24-April 21, 1834. List of arrivals and departures of vessels, San Francisco, 1833-1835, Rafael Pinto, Documentos para la historia de California, 1823-1878, 2 vols. (originals, Bancroft Library), I, 28.

37. This is the first reference which Robinson makes to the organization of Bryant & Sturgis into Bryant, Sturgis & Company.

38. This word may mean "crapes."

39. This letter was written when Robinson was on the *Pilgrim* in San Diego, March 14-27, 1835. Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years before the Mast* (Boston, 1895), pp. 124, 144.

40. The *Lagoda,* John Bradshaw, captain, Thomas Shaw, supercargo, belonged principally to the Boston merchants, William Oliver and Ozias Goodwin. The *Lagoda* left San Diego on April 15, 1835. Shaw to Alpheus Basil Thompson, Boston, November 28, 1835 (original, in the collection owned by Mrs. John M. Williamson, Carpinteria).

41. In the last part of January and the first part of February 1835 Robinson was at Monterey on the *Pilgrim* to enter the vessel and to trade. The *California* sailed on February 15 from San Diego, which Robinson did not reach until March 14. Apparently Robinson did not learn that the *California* had sailed until he arrived at San Pedro. Dana, *op. cit.,* pp. 74-97, 102, 108; and William Richardson to Stearns, San Diego, February 15, 1835 (original, in the Stearns collection, Huntington Library).

42. By "The Brig" is meant the *Pilgrim,* the vessel upon which Dana came to California.

43. A group of about fifty Sonorans attempted a revolt against Governor José Figueroa on March 7, 1835. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* III, 281-86.

44. The *Alert* arrived at Santa Barbara about May 15, 1835, and left California on May 8, 1836. The *California* arrived in February 1836. Thompson to Stearns, Santa Barbara, May 22, 1835 (original, in the Stearns collection, Huntington Library); Thompson to his sister, Santa Barbara, October 28, 1836 (original, in the collection owned by Mrs. John M. Williamson, Carpinteria); and Dana, *op. cit.,* p. 292.

45. The *Rosa* was consigned to the South American merchant Antonio José Cot. The *Loriot,* Thompson supercargo, was owned by merchants in the Hawaiian Islands. The *Catalina* was owned by the Mexican merchant, Henry Virmond. The *Ayacucho* belonged to the English commercial firm of James Goldie of Lima. The *Avon* was owned by John Coffin Jones, Jr., resident merchant of Honolulu. The *Clementine* came from the Hawaiian Islands for hides and horses.

46. This part of the letter seems to be a continuation of the third paragraph preceding the space in the letter. The first word in the line is difficult to make out, but seems to be "&nly," meaning "and namely." The same words, almost illegible, occur in Robinson's letter to Gale, December 5, 1836. See also note 78.

47. José Antonio Menéndez was apparently the supercargo of the *Cruzador.* Mariano de Oceguera, certificate, San Diego, March 15, 1835, Archives of San Diego, 1826-1850 (transcripts, Bancroft Library), "Commerce and Revenues, 1820-1843," No. 3.

José Antonio Aguirre was a merchant at Guaymas who owned several ships engaged in trade to California.

48. The *Leonor* was a Mexican vessel and arrived at Santa Barbara on April 21, 1836. Jacob Primer Leese to Stearns, Santa Barbara, April 23, 1836 (original, in the Stearns collection, Huntington Library).

49. Joseph Steele in 1836 was captain of the Boston-owned *Sarah and Caroline*, 396 tons. Arrivals and departures of vessels, Honolulu, 1836, Thomas Oliver Larkin, Documents for the History of California, 1839-1856, 9 vols. (originals, Bancroft Library), I, 400.

William Sturgis Hinckley, merchant at Honolulu, was active in the California trade, and was master of the *Avon*, 1834-1835. See also notes 8, 33.

50. Ferdinand Deppe, German supercargo of Virmond's vessels, was also a naturalist. In January 1836 he apparently went to Mexico intending to return to Germany by way of the United States. However, he had returned to California by July 13, 1836. In November he arrived at Honolulu on the *Rasselas*, and left on the same vessel for Canton on February 3, 1837. Santiago Arguello, Duties collected from Fernando Deppe, San Diego, July 13, 1836, Departmental State Papers, Benicia, Military, 1772-1846, LX, 5. Peirce & Brewer to Hunnewell, Oahu, November 23, 1836 (original, in the Hunnewell collection, Harvard University Library); and Deppe to Thompson, Honolulu, February 2, 1837 (original, in the collection owned by Mrs. John M. Williamson, Carpinteria).

51. Thomas Nuttall, English botanist, was in California in 1836. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 142.

52. The remainder of this letter is copied in the letter book in the space following the letter of May 5, 1836.

53. Thomas B. Park from 1836 to 1838 was the supercargo of the *California*. He had been supercargo also of the *Harbinger*, 1826-1828.

54. John H. Everett was clerk on the *Alert*, and upon his arrival in California became the clerk of the *Pilgrim*.

55. James P. Arther was captain of the *California*.

56. The *Pilgrim*.

57. The secularization movement which had been in progress since 1826 caused the decline of the missions.

58. The officers of the ship *Alert* and of the brig *Pilgrim* were transferred from the one vessel to the other soon after they arrived in California.

59. Edward E. Faucon, captain of the *Alert*, was transferred to the *Pilgrim*.

60. Francis Alexander Thompson, captain of the *Pilgrim*, was transferred to the *Alert*.

61. Duck was the material commonly used for sailors' trousers. Dana, *op cit.*, p. 131.

62. See note 49.

63. Alpheus Basil Thompson.

64. See note 45.

65. Mr. Henry Price, Boston merchant, with other business men, had financed voyages to California for hides since 1827.

66. The *Sarah and Caroline* and the *Kent*.

67. This affair is described in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 417-19.

68. Mariano Chico, the governor who succeeded Nicolás Gutiérrez, arrived on the *Leonor* at Santa Barbara on April 21, 1836. Apparently the news of his arrival had not yet reached San Diego when Robinson wrote. Leese to Stearns, Santa Barbara, April 23, 1836 (original, in the Stearns collection, Huntington Library).

69. Anita was Robinson's wife.

70. This means in English "I told them to go to the Devil."

71. See note 40.

72. The *Lagoda* left California on April 15, 1835.

73. Nicolás Gutiérrez.

74. The *Clementine* left Monterey for Mexico on November 11, 1836. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 464.

75. The three vessels were the *Don Quixote*, Hinckley, the *Sarah and Caroline*, Steele, and the *Europa*, William French of the Hawaiian Islands. Ammunition and other aid seems to have been given to the revolutionists by these American merchants. *Ibid.*, 461.

76. Juan Bautista Alvarado.

77. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo assumed the military command of the new government on November 29, 1836. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 473.

78. This word is almost illegible, but seems to be "&nly," meaning "and namely," the same words which appeared in Robinson's letter to Bryant, Sturgis & Company on May 1, 1836. See also note 46.

Samurai in San Francisco

The Japanese Embassy of 1860

By George Hinkle

On March 17, 1860, the Japanese "propellor" *Kanrin Maru,* an armed corvette of two hundred and ninety tons, arrived in San Francisco harbour out of Yedo. The corvette was commanded by Captain Count Katsui Rintaro, and bore the Secretary for Naval Affairs, Lord Kimura Settsu-no-kami, a complement of crew members, retainers and technical observers totalling one hundred and thirteen Japanese, and eleven American naval advisers. The *Kanrin Maru* was followed on March 29 by the USS *Powhatan,* out of Yokohama, with seventy-seven members of the first Japanese embassy to the United States. The steam frigate, a side-wheeler, was commanded by Captain George F. Pearson, with Captain Josiah Tatnall of the East India Squadron attached to the embassy suite as Navy Department representative.

Upon San Franciscans, accustomed to think of all Asiatics as inscrutable, this was the first mass impact of the most obscure of Oriental races.

There have been numerous scholarly and popular notices of the embassy in recent years, and there are five extant Japanese journals of the expedition.[1] All of these accounts emphasize the envoys' impressions of American manners, customs, and industrial development. But their references to the unofficial aspects of the San Francisco reception are perfunctory, and they shed little light on the American impressions of the Japanese.

The scene has interest as something more than a footnote in the history of Japanese-American relations. The embassy formed a non-political junction with certain circumstances, persons, and events which had little to do with either "manifest destiny" or missionary zeal. That the mission came to the United States when it did was only partly the result of diplomatic pressure; that it touched at San Francisco at all was largely the result of chance.

It is a fact of nature, not of politics, that Yedo (Tokyo) and San Francisco lie almost on the same parallel of latitude. The blunt angle of the California coast points to the heart of Japan, and there are no large land barriers between the two. It is a truism to say that in spite of their self-imposed isolation, and even without the intervention of Perry, the Japanese might well have moved toward California sooner or later on their own initiative, if physical difficulties had not prevented.

Indeed, the members of the embassy were not the first Japanese nationals to reach California. Ironically, the Japanese had long been forced into the very foreign travel which they had been at such pains to prevent. The seventeenth century edicts of the third Tokugawa *shogunate* against foreign intercourse had set precedents for ship construction which actually prevented extensive navigation. Even in the 'fifties, most vessels held to the shallow draft and overhanging bow of the typical junk, although the Japanese were slowly learning the principles of more stable design from the Dutch. But once disabled and blown to sea in the January monsoons, these craft became trapped and helpless in the great *kuro siwo,* the Japanese warm stream. This current originates at about latitude 23° off Formosa, thence proceeding along a vast kidney-shaped course northeastward to Queen Charlotte Island and down the coast to a point off San Francisco, where it turns southwest, running nearly to Baker's Island before it returns to the Japanese coast. Records for the period 1617-1845 yield an impressive list of Japanese vessels annually sunk or foundered off the Pacific Coast, from the mouth of the Columbia River to Acapulco.[2]

San Francisco was regularly the assembly point for the repatriation of victims of these disasters. A Japanese named Denkichi, sometimes known as "Dan Ketch" in early records, was rescued in January, 1851, and lived for a while in San Francisco.[3] One Dionoske seems to have lived in the city during the same period.[4] The bark *Auckland* brought in seventeen Japanese in 1854,[5] and the British schooner *Caribean* landed twelve others in 1858.[6] Joseph Heco, whose fabulous career included a brief period in the employ of Macondray & Co., and Toro, who worked for Wells Fargo, were certainly in the city in 1858.[7] One of the servants of the embassy suite, Nakahama Manjiro, himself had been shipwrecked in 1850 and returned to San Francisco, where he had joined the gold rush.[8]

These casuals of the sea usually lost their identity in the growing number of California Chinese, with whom they were frequently confused. Their presence was merely evidence of the great physical difficulties of the Pacific crossing. For five years after Perry's expedition, oceanographic data on the vast expanse of water had been far from satisfactory, even for seaworthy vessels.

Following the explorations of Commodore Cadwallader Ringgold and Lieutenant Commander John Rodgers, from 1853 to 1856, Captain J. M. Brooke was ordered to survey the route from San Francisco to the China coast. This distinguished naval scientist had been a colleague of the celebrated Matthew Fontaine Maury, had made several important improvements in naval ordnance, and had invented the first practical deep-sea sounding apparatus. More than anyone else, he seems to have emboldened the hesitant Japanese to make their first try at trans-oceanic navigation.

Brooke sailed from San Francisco in 1858, in the surveying schooner *Fenimore Cooper,* bound for the Sandwich Islands. The much-travelled Joseph Heco was on board, but he became so seasick that he had to leave ship at Honolulu, whence he was eventually repatriated to Yedo.[9] Brooke explored a large area northwest of the Sandwich group, moved southward to parallel 15° 40′, and then followed a leisurely course to the Marianas, Hong Kong, and Japan. His systematic survey plotted reefs, shoals, and coast lines; established meridian differences between San Francisco, Guam, Hong Kong, Loochoo, and Kanagawa; provided reliable meteorological data, much of it for the first time; and obtained important microscopic specimens from soundings down to 19,000 feet.[10]

On August 25, 1859, a severe cyclone struck the *Fenimore Cooper* in Kanagawa Bay, off Yokohama. She dragged anchor and struck repeatedly. Brooke beached her and abandoned ship. He managed to save most of his instruments and data, with the help of Commodore Popoff of the Russian Squadron and of the Japanese themselves, who, according to official reports,[11] received the party with considerable show of hospitality.

The incident was providential for the Japanese. While Townsend Harris, the American representative, was racing with the British for the honour of the first diplomatic mission, they had remained stubborn and non-committal. On September 6, 1858, Harris wrote to the State Department that he had arranged a direct passage to Washington, via Panama and Aspinwall, for not more than fifty persons. On January 29, 1859, he reported that the Prince of Sinano wished to postpone the departure of the mission. Harris renewed his efforts, but the Japanese, when pressed, said that they would be unable to leave even by the following December. Harris wrote that he had suggested February 22, 1860, but that the Japanese had countered by advancing the date to October 25, 1859.

Throughout these negotiations, Harris had insisted that the embassy proceed directly to Washington and avoid all other American cities en route, lest the Japanese be wrongly impressed by the turbulence and confusion of the large seaports. He also insisted that the departure be timed so that the Japanese would arrive in Washington during the beautiful June weather.

The *shogunate*, however, seems to have had other ideas. The unscheduled arrival of Brooke now suggested a way of making the greatest possible show of initiative and sovereignty. The Japanese had a seaworthy naval unit in the *Kanrin Maru*, but no experienced navigator and no crew capable of working the ship across the wastes of the Pacific. They proceeded with their own arrangements, asked suddenly for the official detail of Brooke and some of his crew as "passengers," and in November made a *volte face* toward Harris' proposals of a February sailing. They must have insisted upon San Francisco as a first destination, for on November 15, when Harris reported final arrangements for the *Powhatan* to convey the embassy proper, he made another vehement plea for a direct journey to Washington via Aspinwall. Up to the time when Harris forwarded his final list of personnel (now numbering seventy-one) he gave no hint that he knew of the proceedings with Brooke, and he never mentioned the *Kanrin Maru*.[12]

The *Kanrin Maru* sailed on February 5, 1860, from Yedo, and the *Powhatan* on February 13 from Yokohama. These arrangements had been so quietly effected that advance marine intelligence failed to reach San Francisco. When the *Kanrin Maru* was first sighted on March 17, she was erroneously reported as the *Powhatan*. And as late as March 20, it was rumoured locally that the *Powhatan* would not touch at San Francisco at all.[13]

The Japanese had scored a minor diplomatic triumph of their own.

II

The unheralded arrival of the *Kanrin Maru* caught San Francisco somewhat unprepared. No American city of 1860 could have been more receptive to novelty of any kind. But at the moment, the ceremonial visit could scarcely compete for interest with the imminent departure of the Pony Express, the controversy over the Bulkhead Bill, Seward's latest anti-slavery speech, the infinite possibilities of the magnetic telegraph, and the assorted plans for a Pacific railroad. As a result, the city's entertainment of the Japanese was from first to last a kind of serio-comic improvisation.

By March 19, the two leading independent newspapers, the *Alta California* and the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, had shaped their editorial policies for the duration of the visit. The *Alta California*, alive to commercial opportunities, took a line of dignified compliment and rhetorical reporting. The *Evening Bulletin*, normally a crusading newspaper, settled upon a nice blend of hearty hospitality, curiosity, polite amusement (chiefly directed toward city officials), and covert skepticism.[14]

The day after their arrival, the party was officially greeted by the Supervisors of San Francisco on board the corvette and thence conducted on a brief tour of the city. They explored Montgomery Street hotels, climbed Rincon Hill for the view, discovered knives and forks at the International Hotel (where they met Governor Downey, in town on a casual visit), inspected the steamer *Chrysopolis*, in construction at Steamboat Point, and tasted ice-cream for the first time at Job's Saloon.

On the following day, almost everyone was discussing the more obvious characteristics of the Japanese – the pomaded topknots of their hair, their short stature, their protuding teeth, their fondness for fish, rice, and tea, their frequent bowing, the two-way binding of their sandals, the ideographs blazoned on the backs of their kimonos, and the fact that all of the higher officers wore two swords, the mark of the *samurai*. The newspapers had considerable difficulty with names. The *Bulletin* called Count Katsui "Katsintarroh" at first, and thereafter referred to him as "the admiral with the long name"; and the *Kanrin Maru* was universally reported as the *Kandinamarrah*.

The *Alta California* made it a point to comment on the neat appearance and intelligent behavior of the Japanese, disparaging the Chinese by contrast. The *Bulletin,* however, made much of the extreme punctilio of the visitors in matters of rank and precedence. An awkward incident had occurred on March 18, when President of the Board of Supervisors Teschemacher and his fellow members, Young, Gates, and Tennant, visited the ship. As the party prepared to board small boats with Count Katsui and his entourage, the question of the relative ranks of the city officials created a small panic over the loading of boats and the order of departure. This was finally settled by Captain Brooke and his second-in-command, Lieutenant Kern. The *Bulletin* reported with some glee that when the Japanese discovered that Young, Gates, and Tennant were quite as elevated as President Teschemacher, Captain Katsui compromised by assigning a two-sword officer to each boat.

On March 19, a large party inspected various foundries and machine shops in the city. The *Bulletin* noted with amusement that on their return the members refused to patronize a local bathing establishment because the "admiral" (Lord Kimura) was not present to take the first bath. The *Alta California* preserved a dignified silence concerning the incident. It came out with an editorial urging the Legislature to appropriate a substantial sum for entertainment, adding that the Supervisors had no money, and that the occasion was "not one of merely political or diplomatic form, ceremony, and governmental shams."

On the following day, Kimura and his entire staff visited Alcatraz, inspected USS *Active,* and met Major General Haven and Brigadier General Cobb, with the Board of Supervisors attending. On the twenty-first, the French, Sardinian, and British consuls were received on board the *Kanrin Maru.* The feminine population of the city had by this time discovered with some chagrin that they were not allowed to board the ship. The *Bulletn* was able to reassure the ladies. This was no reflection, it declared, on their social standing. It was merely that the Japanese believed that women were inferior beings. After all, the visitors could not be expected to know that the local ladies were "as high in rank, and some as proud, as Governor Downey or President Teschemacher."

March 22 was the day scheduled for the gala reception at City Hall. The Supervisors had prepared an elaborate scroll of welcome, executed on parchment, and a salute of seventeen guns was expected. These preparations prompted the *Bulletin* to a lengthy editorial:[15]

> It must seem very odd to the dwellers on Olympus, and fit to produce immoderate laughter, the difference we make between Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee. There are the Chinese among us, despised, spurned, overtaxed and considered fair game for more oppressive burdens. Down in the harbour lies at anchor a steam corvette, full of people who are evidently another branch of the same species of men, whom we are straining ourselves to treat with sufficient honour.

The writer spoke of the long-established Chinese trade, as contrasted with Japanese isolation; and questioned the claims for superior Japanese intelligence, declaring that the only differences between the two races were the superficial ones of coiffure and dress,

> all of which grave distinctions, if there were no commercial motives beside, would scarcely account to a stranger for the mediation of laws to expel the one and of fêtes to seduce the other to a perpetual amity. It is the way of the world, however, and quite Scriptural. The fatted calf is killed for the prodigal son; though if the heir had found the rejoicing father slapping a heavy tax on the boy who had behaved himself, he would have had better reasons for being very wroth,

The editorial concluded with the question "whether there are no motives of policy and humanity that should induce us to treat people of the same colour, who use the same chopsticks, and only differ in the fashion of their foot and headgear, with fairness, – or, in the language of our vernacular, 'give them a show, too'." These reflections were quickly followed by an approving letter signed "X," which continued the Sino-Japanese theme, and put the question: "If we treat with a nation on equal terms, must we or must we not associate with them on equal terms?"

The City Hall reception began somewhat inauspiciously when the first battalion of the California Guard fired a salute in the Plaza, with force enough to break several windows in the vicinity. Present were Kimura, Katsui, and their principal suites; Generals Haven and Cobb and staffs; members of the various consular offices; and the Board of Supervisors, with a select group of local dignitaries. The speeches of welcome were uncomfortably lacking in spontaneity, chiefly because of the absence of any sign of comprehension on the faces of the guests. The interpreter, whose English was halting, broke down at certain stages, and makeshift acknowledgments were given in Dutch, a language familiar to most of the Japanese, if not to the Americans. The officers were presented individually. Dr. William Rabé, Secretary of the newly-formed Pacific Railroad Association,[16] was introduced, and the assembly adjourned, to reconvene at Job's Saloon.

The dullness of the City Hall function was offset by the collation at Job's – turkey, game, green salads, charlotte russe, and champagne – a menu which must have marked a gustatory climax for the Japanese, who had been exchanging suspicious confidences about American food ever since their arrival.[17] Toasts were drunk all around and speeches were resumed. When Dr. Rabé's turn came, he managed to work the health of the Pacific Railroad into his lengthy acknowledgment.

The affair was scarcely "brilliant," in the journalistic sense. The next day, the *Alta California* subtly deprecated the city's showing, declaring that San Francisco was provincial in such matters, compared with New York.

On March 24, a letter signed "Japan" appeared in the *Bulletin*, protesting the editorial of March 22, on "Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee." The writer asserted that Americans would give an equal welcome to Chinese of rank and intelligence if they could ever see any; but that so far, experience with specimens of the race had been revelations of "trickery and double-dealing."

The imperturbable editor ignored this outburst and amused himself in the same issue with a frivolous composition of his own, entitled "What Will They Say of Us?" He dared to think, he said, that the Japanese would take back glowing reports of

> Boo-gi-ya-oo Downey, Loo-me-mi-go Teschemacher, Gi-kwa Gates, etc. That the blooming Dho-hoo, the gay and lively Ya-moo-me, and the buxom Tsoo-ma grieved mightily that they could not be permitted to visit the corvette; but it was no go. That the most interesing, sober, and gentlemanly persons they met were the Hi-tsoo-shi-ga, who wrote down with pencils all about them and printed it the next morning and evening and never made any mistakes.

The *Kanrin Maru* left on the same day for Mare Island, for overhauling. Throughout the local festivities, there was one alert and interested observer whose remarks never reached the press. James Bailey, then a Sacramento jeweler and later the patron of Theodore Judah and the first secretary of the Central Pacific Association,[18] had arrived in San Francisco a week before the *Kanrin Maru* made port. Shortly after her departure for Mare Island, Bailey wrote in his journal:

> Some pretend to consider them [the Japanese] far superior to the Chinese, but as far as I can judge, I can see no great difference. I have seen Chinese who compare favorably with any of the Japanese I have seen and doubt not there are among them those who are their equals in every respect.
>
> They have an engineering mind, and nothing escapes their attention. [They are] inquisitive to know with regard to everything they see, with pen and pencil to take notes of all that passes. They are very expert with the pencil and draught readily anything that may attract their attention. When visiting the vessel being built at Steamboat Point they immediately got out their paper & pencils & began at once to take her measurement & proportions and draught her relative points.

Bailey was present at a strange gathering on the evening of March 28. A group of Japanese had returned from the *Kanrin Maru* to attend a performance at McGuire's Opera House. The play was *Richard III*, the principal actor the talented Mr. J. B. Howe of Boston. The Japanese sat in solemn and attentive ranks in the center of the house. Far ahead of them, in isolated splendour in the front row, and dressed in full naval regalia complete with gold epaulettes, sat San Francisco's irascible madman, Emperor Norton I. There are three independent notices of the scene: that of Bailey, who mentioned only the Japanese and his between-acts conversation with one of Brooke's officers; that of the Japanese, who mentioned only the play, which seemed to them "much like Japanese plays, full of love scenes and fighting;" [19] and that of the *Bulletin* reporter, who mentioned only the Emperor: "No one was desirous to intrude upon his Imperial Majesty, and so he had a row of front seats all to himself. He looked 'every inch a king.' His nose particularly – and this is the feature of which he feels most proud – is said to closely resemble that of George IV. Blood will tell." Not even the ingenious editor of the *Bulletin* dared to speculate on what the Japanese thought of the self-styled potentate.

III

The arrival of the *Powhatan* with the mission on March 29 brought sudden overtones of seriousness to a reception which until then had been casual and off-hand. The embassy's display of rank was formidable: there were Niimi Buzen-no-kami (Prince of Buzen) and Muragaki Awaji-no-kami, first and second Ambassadors; Oguri Bungo-no-kami, Chief Censor; Morita Okataro Kiyoyuki, Vice-Governor; Naruse Genshiro Masanori and Tsukahara Jugoro Masayoshi, Officers of the First Rank Ambassadorial; Hidaka Keizaburo Tameyoshi, Officer of the First Rank Censorial; Namura Gohachiro, Interpreter-in-Chief; and Murayama Osamoto Atsushi, First Physician – each with an extensive retinue of minor officials, feudal retainers, and servants. The situation posed new problems in protocol and brought new difficulties of reporting to the *Alta California* and the *Daily Evening Bulletin.* Both papers, however, gazetted the names with dignity and restraint and with a minimum of mis-spellings. The *Alta California* was visibly impressed, and characterized the Vice-Governor Kiyoyuki as "the Lord Palmerston of the Embassy."

Interviews were impossible at first. The *Powhatan* had suffered heavy weather and a bad crossing all the way from Yokohama, and most of the ranking members of the mission were suffering acutely from seasickness. According to reports, however, their experience had strengthened their confidence in the ship and crew, and they were determined to make their return voyage in the *Powhatan* via Panama.

The *Bulletin* gathered information from members of the crew and from Chaplain Woods, who had tutored several of the Japanese in English and had kept a journal of his observations. Everyone testified to the simplicity and gravity of deportment of the passengers. On the other hand, the paper reported that a number of Japanese books with "villainously obscene" illustrations were circulating on board among the embassy servants and retainers. The *Bulletin* was not alone in noticing such anthropological detail. Local customers had remarked on the erotic design of some of the Japanese *bijouterie* which had appeared on the San Francisco market following the arrival of the *Kanrin Maru.* James Bailey had characterized the Japanese as "a kindly people, but very licentious," [20] and Raphael Pumpelly made similar observations in the following year.[21]

The first official contact with the envoys on March 29 was exclusive. Only three men were allowed to present themselves to the Prince of Buzen and the Prince of Awaji on board the *Powhatan*: Captain Brooke, Captain Alden of USS *Active,* and Charles Wolcott Brooks of San Francisco. The presence of the two naval officers was understandable. But Brooks had taken no part in the preliminary reception of the *Kanrin Maru's* officers. His name had been mentioned only twice in the news: on March 27, when the *Bulletin* printed a lengthy report of his observations on Japanese wrecks, ocean currents, and the Japanese and Chinook languages; and again on March 29, when he was said to have telegraphed Count Katsui at Mare Island at the moment when the *Powhatan* was first sighted off the heads.

Brooks, a man of remarkable virtuosity, had come to San Francisco in 1854. Born in Medford, Massachusetts, the son of a distinguished clergyman and educator,[22] he had been carefully educated in France. In 1851, at the age of eighteen, he shipped as supercargo on an East India merchantman out of Boston, studied navigation on board, and after the death of the captain in a foreign port, took command and brought the ship home. Following this venture, he seems to have had considerable experience at sea. At any rate, by 1855 he certainly had a deep interest in Asiatic peoples and an extensive knowledge of Pacific waters.[23]

Brooks' subsequent career in San Francisco until his death in 1885 pointed to important activities in the 'fifties, of which, unfortunately, there is no clear record. He headed a Hawaiian trading company until 1867;[24] served as Japanese consul for California for seventeen years; and from 1871 to 1873 was an attaché of the Japanese embassy representing fifteen treaty powers.[25] As a member and one-time secretary of the California Academy of Sciences, he contributed a widely-discussed paper on the *kuro siwo* and Japanese wrecks, and various monographs on Arctic drift, ocean currents, early racial migrations, and the origin of the Chinese race.[26] Before his death, he was United States Commissioner for Silk Culture in California.[27]

Whatever his antecedents in the 'fifties, Brooks must have had the confidence of the Japanese prior to the arrival of the embassy, in view of the solemn formalities on the deck of the *Powhatan* on March 29.

On March 30, the *Alta California* appealed again to the Legislature for funds sufficient to finance a lavish reception. It confessed candidly to motives of self-interest in wishing to further trade relations and it assumed that its readers did likewise. The Supervisors sent a telegram to the Legislature on the same date, asking for three thousand dollars. The *Bulletin* slyly observed that forty local ladies of fashion who had been excluded from the *Kanrin Maru* were themselves circulating a petition to insure invitations to the coming reception.

On March 31, the *Alta California* published a last-minute compliment to the envoys, again disparaging the intellectual powers of the Chinese by contrast. This inspired a letter from "W.M.E.," entitled "Look on this picture, and then on that," in which the writer spoke of the squalor, corruption and equivocation of the Chinese, contrasted with the neatness, reliability, and intelligence of the Japanese.

On April 1, an untoward accident occurred at Mare Island which somewhat dampened plans for the reception. The USS *Active* was pulling away from the island when the *Powhatan* fired a salute at short range. The Commandant, Commodore Cunningham, was struck and temporarily blinded by a fragment of the charge, and Lord Kimura, as a guest of the Commodore, was so everwhelmed by the mishap that he declined to make any public appearances.

On April 2, the grand reception proceeded as scheduled, at Tucker's Hall. The city guard turned out, and at noon Supervisors Teschemacher, Gates, Johnston, and Young met the embassy at the doors. Present were Generals Clark, Haven, and Cobb; Consuls Gautier for France, Booker for England, Kostromittenoff for Russia, Gildermeister for Holland, and Davidson for Sardinia; Speaker Moore of the Assembly, several senators, and members of the judiciary.

The Legislative delegation was a last-minute arrangement. Assemblyman De la Guerra had introduced a resolution calling for a committee to welcome the Japanese in the name of California, and the Senate and Assembly had jointly authorized the city to spend not more than $2000.00. Both measures had been strenuously opposed by members from the mining districts, whose constituents hated the Chinese and were convinced that there was no essential difference between the two races.

The very abundance of rank at Tucker's Hall simplified problems of precedence. Judge McAllister entered with the Prince of Buzen, General Cobb with Oguri Bungo, the Censor, and General Haven with Count Katsui. The embassy members presented an even more exotic appearance than their colleagues from the *Kanrin Maru* at the City Hall reception. The *Bulletin* noted that the envoys had succumbed at the last moment to frock coats ("an article universal among great men"), which they wore over their kimonos.

Following the introductions and a restrained speech by President Teschemacher, the usual champagne toasts were drunk, first to the amiable and unblinking guests, then to the receiving officials in turn, and finally to anyone whose name seemed suitable for proposal. There was a brief interlude following an enthusiastic speech by Supervisor Gates, when someone questioned whether the company could drink toasts more conveniently sitting or standing. A sudden toast "to the Army and Navy" drew a response from Flag Officer Tatnall, who surprised everybody with the statement: "I trust that when England and America get into trouble, there will always be found a true and cordial sympathy between them" (immense cheering).

The end of official festivities and the departure of the Pony Express on April 3 left the newspapers with little more to discuss concerning the Japanese. The *Bulletin* observed in passing that the envoys had exhibited on board the *Powhatan* several models, with Japanese improvements, of American firearms left in Japan by the Perry expedition. The editor, in his final reflections on aspects of the reception, declared that the Chinese seemed much taller than the Japanese. He solemnly reasoned that this was "possibly because our Japanese friends are so very intellectual that their bodies have hardly had a fair chance hitherto." He informed his readers that there would be no more receptions — that the envoys wished to save themselves until they could reach Washington.

The *Powhatan* left with the Embassy on April 7. The *Bulletin* seemed to have had the last word on the controversial question of racial superiority.

EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1861, the *shogunate* asked Charles Wolcott Brooks to nominate two scientists to explore Japan's mineral resources and to advise on methods of production. The correspondence on the subject, passing through the hands of the United States minister at Yedo, was inadvertently forwarded to Washington. Brooks had nominated Professor William P. Blake and the celebrated geologist, Raphael Pumpelly. The State Department gratuitously nominated Dr. J. P. Kimball and Pumpelly, and forwarded official notice to the latter, then *en route* to San Francisco from Arizona. Meanwhile, the *shogunate* sent its own confirmation of Blake and Pumpelly directly to Brooks. As a result, Pumpelly was surprised upon his arrival by two appointments from official bodies which had obviously acted without consultation.[28]

This apparently trivial incident, like the Harris-Brooke episode of the previous year, was a revelation of political ineptitude. Even in 1860-1861, the right hand of American diplomacy did not seem to know what the Japanese left hand was doing.

One of the many disinterested and competent men whose services the Japanese utilized from time to time, Brooks was not the least remarkable for talents and opinions that had gone unheeded in his own country. He seems to have known from the first that the Japanese were a pushing and industrious race, whose enterprise would have to be met sooner or later by Occidental powers. In 1875, he suggested that in view of Japan's known industrial adaptability it would be well to endow a vast library of information on the lands and peoples of the North Pacific.[29] His was probably the earliest proposal for an institute of Pacific relations.

But his far-sightedness was apparent at a much earlier date. In 1859, he possessed a detailed survey of a mid-Pacific atoll lying at Lat. 28° 11′ N., Long. 177° 18′ W., known until the late 'sixties as Brooks Islands. Credit for discovery of the group has always gone to Captain N. C. Brooks, master of the bark *Gambia*. It seems likely that the two men were closely related; but whatever the connection between them, C. W. Brooks held the technical data, a remarkably accurate body of information on soundings, anchorages, meteorology, geologic formation, etc., including even a classification of marine polyps.

After unsuccessful efforts to persuade the United States to take over the group, Brooks finally (1867) gave his information to the Pacific Mail

Steamship Company. Shortly after the company had established a coaling station at Brooks, the USS *Lackawanna* arrived and this government took formal possession. Brooks' dream of "our furthest outpost," a strong-point for the security of Pacific commerce, was at last realized. Brooks Islands became Midway.

In 1870, Brooks commented on the importance of the new American possession: "At some later day, near at hand or far away, as the action of her people may in great measure determine, the United States may be called on this ocean to again pass the crucial test. . . ."[30] In view of the decisive battle fought on and from this spot in the present war, the statement was wholly prophetic.

NOTES

1. *See especially* Payson J. Treat, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853-1895* (Stanford University, 1932), I, 89-99; Chitoshi Yanaga, "The First Japanese Embassy to the United States," *Pacific Historical Review*, IX (June 1940), 113-139. Fukuzawa Yukichi, a retainer of the Kimura house, kept a journal of the voyage of the *Kanrin Maru*. The principal Japanese source is Yanagawa Masakiyo, *The First Japanese Mission to America, 1860*, trans. by Junichi Fukuyama and Roderick H. Jackson (printed in Japan, issued in New York, 1938). For popular accounts, *see* Louise Taber, "The Kanrin Maru and the First Japanese Embassy to the United States of America" (mim. MS of radio address of February 28, 1936, in library, California Historical Society); Meyer Berger, "That was New York: Greetings from the Tycoon," *New Yorker Magazine* (January 24, 1942), 40-46; an abridgement of the Masakiyo diary, in *Life* (February 23, 1942), 82-92; and Dolores Waldorf, "Sails for the Shogun," *Westways* (September 1944), 12-13.

2. Charles Wolcott Brooks, "Report of Japanese Vessels Wrecked in the North Pacific Ocean, from the Earliest Records to the Present Time," *Proceedings* of the California Academy of Sciences, VI (1875), 50-66. *See* San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 27, 1860, for an early anticipation of the foregoing work. *See also* Horace Davis, "Record of Japanese Vessels Driven upon the Northwest Coast of America and its Outlying Islands," *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (1872), 65-82 (this work was based upon information supplied by Brooks); and Inazo Nitobe, "Japanese-American Intercourse Prior to the Advent of Perry," *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, I (1911), 131-140.

3. Treat, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

4. Brooks, *op. cit.* (1875), p. 57.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

8. Edward Yorke McCauley, *With Perry in Japan* (Princeton University, 1942), pp. 20-21. *See also* the roster of the suite, In Masakiyo, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

9. Brooks, *op. cit.* (1875), p. 56.

10. *Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 1, 1860*, 36th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Exec. Doc., III, No. 1, Pt. iii, pp. 17-19.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

12. *Report of the Secretary of State, 1859-60*, 36th Cong., 2nd sess., Exec. Doc., IX, No. 25, pp. 2-11.

13. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* March 17 and March 20, 1860.

14. Unless otherwise specified, details of the San Francisco reception recounted here are based upon a collation of reports in *Alta California* and *Daily Evening Bulletin* for the period March 17-April 7, incl., 1860.

15. *Bulletin,* March 22, 1860.

16. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California,* VII (1860-1890), 542-543.

17. Masakiyo, *op. cit.,* pp. 23-24, 26.

18. Unpublished letter-book and journal of James Bailey, March 18, 1852-March 15, 1861 (owned by Mr. J. B. Anthony, Berkeley, California). Bailey had already formed a close association with Theodore Judah, and in 1861 he financed the latter's early Sierra surveys. He was present at the famous meeting of Hopkins, Stanford, Crocker, and Booth in the Dutch Flat drugstore. *See* Oscar Lewis, *The Big Four* (New York, 1841), p. 22; and Herbert Wynford Hill, *The Epic of the Overland* (San Francisco, 1924), p. 14.

19. Masakiyo, *op. cit.,* p. 28.

20. Bailey, *op. cit.*

21. Raphael Pumpelly, *My Reminiscences* (New York, 1918), I, 280, 296, 329.

22. Rev. Charles Brooks, *History of the Town of Medford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from its Earliest Settlement in 1630 to 1855* (Boston, 1886), pp. 448-449.

23. *See* Note 30, below.

24. *See* obituary, *Alta California,* August 17, 1885.

25. Brooks, *op. cit.* (1875), pp. 72-73.

26. The library, California Academy of Sciences, has the full series.

27. *Alta California,* August 17, 1885.

28. Pumpelly, *op. cit.,* I, 267.

29. Brooks, *op. cit.* (1875), p. 73.

30. For a full account of the Brooks Island survey and proposals for acquisition by the United States, *see* "Our Furthest Outpost," in *Old and New* (June 1870), 828-837. Brooks, according to his own testimony, had data on Midway for twelve years prior to his conversations with representatives of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company (1867).

The Tiles from Mission Soledad

By Paul P. Parker

MRS. FRANCES RAND SMITH, in her splendid article on the Soledad Mission in the March Quarterly, brings out vividly the complete disintegration of the buildings, without enlarging upon the cause. It appears that in 1833 Feliciano Soberánes, grantee of the Soledad ex-Mission lands, took the tiles and timbers to his Alisal Rancho, some twenty miles away, where he constructed two buildings. They are in a wonderful state of preservation and are still being used as a home by the Silacci family. At the same time, Juan Bautista Alvarado erected his adobe a mile away on a mesa overlooking the Salinas Valley, and William Edward Petty Hartnell built his adobe near by. These three men spent much of their time at their country homes, to get away from the fogs of Monterey.

About 1913, Pedro ("Pete") Zabala, an attorney and grandson of W. E. P. Hartnell, purchased the tiles on the Alvarado adobe, to be used on a garden wall around his Salinas home and for a building he was erecting. Zabala hired W. A. Anderson to superintend the removal of these tiles, and I made a trip with Anderson to the adobe. He said that his father, W. ("Red Bill") Anderson, who settled in Monterey in 1837 and became a prominent figure, had told him that it was common knowledge at the time that the tiles on the Alvarado and Soberanes ranches were taken from the Soledad Mission, and that one of the reasons for their removal was that in the early 1830's the Indian tile makers had grown rebellious and had refused to work. He pointed out that the Hartnell adobe, which was but a short distance away, was not tiled but roofed with split shakes from the Amesti Ranch in the Pajaro Valley. The Alvarado adobe was in excellent condition until the tiles were taken, but after only a few winters the walls melted away, showing what happens when the roof of an adobe is removed.

Both of the Hartnell adobes have two stories; one of the buildings is still being used by the employees of Jim Bardin, and the other was wrecked in the earthquake of 1906. It was here that Hartnell started his "El Colegio de San Jose." His census of 1836 shows thirteen pupils, whose homes ranged from Monterey, southward, as far as Guaymas.

Sherman Was There

The Recollections of Major Edwin A. Sherman

With an Introduction by ALLEN B. SHERMAN

(Continued)

WE WERE THREE DAYS in making the trip to Sacramento, arriving on Saturday, the second of June 1849. That afternoon I visited the famed Sutter's Fort,[19] and made a hasty sketch.

On the second day after our arrival, we found work on the bank of the river, moving several hundred sacks of Chile flour, two hundred pounds in a sack, for which we were paid eight dollars a day. We made two double handbarrows to carry them. The job lasted twelve days, and gave us more funds. After that, we made a contract to build a bridge across the mouth of Sutter Slough at its junction with the Sacramento River. We finished it in two weeks, and each made twenty dollars a day.

We then hired a boat to move us and our outfit to Vernon,[20] on the east side of the Sacramento at the junction of the Feather River,[21] opposite the newly located town of Fremont. Here we contracted to build a hotel for a Mr. Lawton of Vernon. We cut down large oak trees on the point between the two rivers, rough hewed and squared the logs, floated them over to Vernon, and hauled them, with some oxen we had hired from Jonas Spect of Fremont, to the site of the hotel. We sold our contract for eight hundred dollars, and with one of Spect's wagons we planned to haul our outfit to Rose's Bar [22] on the Yuba River. An Irishman named Morse, whom we had employed, said that he knew all about driving oxen and wanted to go along with us. We were all loaded and had just started, when we saw that he knew nothing about it. The first thing he did was to cramp the wagon and break an axletree. We had to cut down an oak and hew out a new axletree; and then we got Mr. Peters to drive the animals, as he had the coolest patience under trials and in his boyhood had learned to drive oxen on a farm.

We journeyed along the south side of the Bear River, forded it at Johnson's Crossing, and after four days' travel we arrived at sundown at a very steep hill above Rose's Bar. We carefully descended the hill and camped for the night at the bar. The next morning we sent Mr. Peters back with the oxen and wagon to deliver them to their owner, Jonas Spect. While he was gone, as all the claims on Rose's Bar had been located, we crossed the Yuba River and staked off 50-foot claims on that side, fronting to the center of the river and running back into the mountains. We hired Indians to bring our stuff over in a log canoe we had bought, then we cut down some small pine trees for a log cabin. When finished, it was about sixteen feet wide, twenty-four feet long, and eight feet high, with duck canvas for a roof; and altogether it was strong and quite homelike. Our kitchen was in the open air, about fifty feet in front of the cabin.

As the river was still high from the melting snow, we began our mining back near the bank, and built a wall of stones cemented with mud, to prevent the pressure of the sand and earth from pushing it down. We paid two Swedish shipcarpenters three hundred dollars to make the rockers with which we washed our gold-bearing dirt. We threw the top dirt back of us, while with pick, crowbar, and shovel we dug down to the bedrock, testing the earth all the time by washing it in a pan made of sheet iron, about the size of an ordinary milk pan but with more flaring sides.

We got down to bedrock on the Fourth of July, 1849, and struck it fairly rich; but we quit early in the day to fire our rifles and make a noise, as the rest of the people on the river were doing, for it was Independence Day. Then we went over to Rose's Bar and bought a quarter of beef from Rose and Reynolds.

They had a large store under a big tent. To keep the molasses cool, they rolled the barrel into the shade outside the tent. The Indians, who were pretty numerous, would go to the front of the store and buy pilot bread or sea-biscuit with their gold dust, then slip around to the back and turn on the faucet of the molasses barrel, so that they could get the drippings. Reynolds' attention was called to this 'syruptitious' leakage of his goods! After the Indians had left he said, "Now watch the fun when they return."

He rolled the barrel of molasses inside, out of sight, replaced it with a barrel of liquid tar used for wagon grease, and daubed it with molasses as if it had run out of the faucet. In about an hour, Indians of both sexes crowded into the store and bought a lot of hard bread, after which they stealthily, one after the other, slipped around to the rear. All had a chance at the faucet and went away, biting into the hard bread and tar as they went and not saying a word. It was a solemn farce on their part, and a sharp trick on his, as well as a gross insult, and Reynolds made a mistake when he did it, as he immediately lost the Indian trade which had given him a great profit. The Indians were accustomed to make tar from the pitch of pine trees. They would shave their heads, spread the tar on top, and smear their faces with it, as a sign of mourning for the dead. To them it was sacred.

We hired two Indians to pack our quarter of beef over to our cabin, and gave them a generous piece of flank besides. They were our friends in those days. Occasionally, when we were not using our canoe, we lent it to them to ferry people across the river and thus make a little money for themselves.

Between the 25th and 29th of July 1849, there occurred at Rose's Bar on the Yuba River incidents which grew into matters of state and national importance. The miners of California had adopted their own bylaws, prescribing the boundaries of their respective districts and the sizes of their claims, which they loyally obeyed and strictly enforced. Each district made laws for itself and elected recorders, whose duty it was to measure the ground located and record it, with the names of the locators, in the Book of Claims. All disputes were settled by the recorder, subject to appeal to a regularly called "miners' meeting," whose verdict was final. This was before any courts were establishd in the mining regions.

It so happened that a General Green,[23] with nearly a dozen other Texans and about fifteen negro slaves, came to Rose's Bar, and without regard to the mining laws of the district, proceeded to occupy and claim about a third of a mile on the left bank of the river, making their own measurements and locating claims in the names of their negro slaves as well as their own. This aroused the miners. A meeting was called, which was largely attended. They denounced the action of the Texans, as it not only violated the mining laws of the district, but also the laws of the United States in regard to public lands, which could be pre-empted or settled only by citizens of the United States, or those who had declared their intention to become citizens. Slaves were not citizens, and their owners could not take up pre-emption claims for them.

A committee of the oldest men was appointed to go to General Green and his company, and inform them that they must comply with the laws of the district and have the claims of the white men, *only*, measured and duly recorded.

The committee was rebuffed by the Texans. Thereupon, a meeting was called of all the miners on the river, to be held at Rose's Bar on Sunday, July 29, 1849. At the meeting, a resolution was passed that no slaves or negroes should own claims or even work in the mines, and a new committee was appointed, on which I was the youngest man. We went unarmed to the Texans' camp and informed them of the action taken at the general meeting.

They declared that they "... did not care for that, ..." and that they "... would fight ..." The rest of the committee tried to reason with them but to no avail. It was now my turn, and I said, "General Green, I know all about you and your history. You were fortunate in drawing a white bean when you were a Texan prisoner of Mexico at Mier,[24] or you would not now be here. I have been in the very same dungeon at the Castle of Perote,[25] where you and Sam Walker were confined when you both made your escape. I knew him on the Rio Grande, when serving under General [Zachary] Taylor, and also at Perote, when he was captain of Company C of the Mounted Rifles of the regular army. There are veterans of the Mexican War here who are just as brave as you and your men, and it is foolish for you to defy our mining laws, which will be enforced by every man on this river who has regularly located his claim. If you want to keep your slaves, you will have to go back to Texas or Arkansas, or by tomorrow morning you will not have one slave left, for the miners will run them out and you will never get them again. My advice to you is to get them together and leave for Texas . . ." We bade them good-by and departed.

That night the negro slaves *vamoused*, and early the next morning their masters followed them and abandoned their camp.

Congress had adjourned without making any provision for a territorial government for California. As people from all over the United States and the rest of the world were pouring in by the thousands, and as the Mexican laws were not understood and were ill adapted to the condition of affairs, President Zachary Taylor directed General Bennet Riley, U. S. A., military and civil governor of California, to issue a proclamation [26] for an election of delegates to a convention, to be held at Monterey, for the purpose of drafting a constitution for a state government. General Riley issued his proclamation on the third day of June 1849, naming August 1, 1849, as the date for the election of delegates to the convention; and the election was held accordingly.

Among the delegates we elected from our district,[27] was a veteran of the Mexican War, Captain William E. Shannon, who had commanded Company I of the First Regiment of New York Volunteers under Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, and who had already more than two years' experience and acquaintance with the people of California. He was a gentleman and a lawyer, as well as a brave soldier. We instructed him to vote in the convention against slavery ever being permitted by the constitution to exist in the state of California.

Soon afterwards, some dozen emigrants from Oregon, including several women, all clad in buckskin, arrived at Rose's Bar. Among them were a young couple who wished to be married, but we had no minister or justice of the peace. One of the miners suggested that they have their claims recorded first, as that would show their intentions. Finally, a motion was made that the district mining recorder be elected justice of the peace and be authorized to administer oaths.

It was carried by acclamation, and one of the crowd swore him into office. The young Oregonians signed their names to their claims. Then came the marriage ceremony. The new justice of the peace was at first stumped. "You do both of you solemnly promise," he said, and then stopped. He tried it repeatedly, but with no better result. An old miner then chipped in and said, "Swear 'em in, Judge." Se he said to them, "Please hold up your hands and be sworn." They did so, and he continued: "You each and both of you solemnly swear that you will faithfully perform all of the duties of husband and wife towards each other and allow no one to jump your respective claims? So help you God!" Each responded, "I do." He then pronounced them husband and wife, according to the mining laws of that district.

Then came sacks of flour as wedding offerings. Everybody wanted a biscuit made by the bride's hands, but only the unmarried men were to be so favored; the married men had to be content with salt-rising bread made by the married women. As a result, the Dutch ovens and frying pans were kept lively for nearly a week. That was the first wedding I ever attended in California.

Not long afterwards, we attended a funeral on the side of the mountain above Rose's Bar. A man had died of fever but no one, excepting his Maker, knew anything concerning him, so we gave him a Christian burial, and left him with God in what might otherwise have seemed a lonely grave.

In about six weeks my own health began to fail from standing in almost ice-cold water under a burning sun, while I worked the rocker and dipped water to wash the earth at the same time. I told my partners that it was best for me to quit, so we divided our gold dust equally, and I received an extra portion for my share of the tools and provisions, my rifle, and my claim. With a haversack filled with several days' rations, my tin cup, a bottle of water, a pistol, and blankets, I bade them goodby and started on a several days' tramp to Sacramento City.

The weather was intensely hot, and I was able to walk only early in the morning and late in the evening. I slept at night several hundred yards away from the trail or the road, and in the daytime I lay in the shade. The solitude at times was depressing and broken only by the multiplicate howls of a coyote.

After three days and two nights I reached the crossing to Johnson's Ranch on Bear River. Here I stopped a day and a night, and then resumed my tramp down the south bank to Nicolaus Ranch [28] and remained the rest of the day in the shade. As there was moonlight, I started again in the evening, and had got about twelve miles on my way when I heard something paddling along behind me. I turned around and saw a large gray wolf (*not* a coyote) following me. I kept a watch on him while I was getting my pistol ready for a close acquaintance, and chancing to look ahead I saw a man going the same way, armed with a rifle. I hailed him and asked if his gun were loaded. He replied that it was. I then told him that a large gray wolf was following me, and if he would let me pass he might get a shot at the animal. He did so, and as the wolf was closing in on me, the man fired and it dropped dead. We skinned it, leaving the head and paws attached to the hide, and then waited for daylight at the mouth of Dry Creek which empties into the plain. I carried the man's gun while he shouldered the hide, and in that fashion we footed it into Sacramento City. After a hearty breakfast at Bennett's Restaurant – it was my twentieth birthday – I gave him my share of the hide and we parted.

I never again saw my recent mining partners. Two of them returned to Philadelphia and one, my chum, James Wallace, I afterwards learned had died of cholera [29] at Sacramento.

My tramp from Rose's Bar to Sacramento had been too much for me, and I had to rest for a month before I entered again upon an active life. I saw emigrants arriving from over the plains and thousands of others that came by sea. Sutter's Fort was their Mecca and the mines their goal, but all of them came to the banks of the Sacramento before making a start, in order to secure transportation to the mines, as well as provisions and outfits. Ox and mule teams were scarce. Freight was from five to fifty cents per pound, according to the distance to be traveled; and although their baggage, provisions, and tools were hauled to the mines, the gold seekers themselves tramped on foot.

The banks of the Sacramento River were lined with barks, brigs, and schooners, the latter type of ship being the most profitable between San Francisco and Sacramento. The river was clear and fish could be seen in large numbers. Interviewing as I did those who arrived by sea as well as those who came overland, I became much interested in the two tides of humanity. One of those coming overland was a Missourian named Stewart who arrived in Sacramento from Oregon with five yoke of oxen and a wagon. He formed a partnership with Francis Shirland, a sailor, under the firm name of Francis and Stewart, and they opened an office for "Transportation to All the Mines," on Front Street facing the river. I became their clerk. They started by charging one dollar and thirty cents a pound for freight to Negro Bar,[30] and fifty cents a pound to Morman Island [31] on the American River. They made enough on that one trip to buy another team from Oregon and they hired the owner as a driver. In a short time they were doing a tremendous business. Their habit was to buy the worn-out teams that came overland, take them across the river into Yolo County to rest and feed, and in a month the animals were in condition to haul freight. Meanwhile, when parties arrived seeking transportation, Francis and Stewart would hire other men with teams to do the work.

The office was simply a frame of poles, covered with heavy duck, and as waterproof as most of the buildings were in Sacramento at that time. During the first three months, I endured some unpleasant experiences. Stewart had his hammock swung on one side of his office and would sit in it nearly all day; and although he was unable to play a tune, he bought a wheezy old accordion, which he would pull out and shove in, delighted with the infernal noise that was a torture to all who heard it. One day a fellow came to look at the instrument. When he handed it back to Stewart, it refused to play. It had been punctured with many small holes. Stewart in a rage threw it out of the office and everybody gave it a kick, until an Indian came along and carried it away as a prize.

Hay was worth five hundred dollars a ton, the weight being only guessed. There were no scythes. Saber-shaped blades, with two handles like a Scotch claymore, were used to cut the grass near the tules. Some of it was hauled to our fenced corral in the rear of our office. One day an emigrant came in and wanted to sleep in our corral. We told him emphatically "No!" He said that he did not smoke, and asked permission to leave his blankets until he could get something to eat. We reluctantly consented.

Immediately afterward, the Reverend Joseph A. Benton [32] came to me and told me that a poor fellow had committed suicide by blowing out his brains with a dragoon pistol, and that the people wanted to give him a Christian burial. They had some rough boards from a ship with which to make a coffin, and the funeral was to be held the next afternoon (Sunday) in the theatre tent. He said he had the hymn books, and asked me if I would get a few to sing. I replied that I would see what I could do. I found two or three others and we were to practice Sunday morning.

The theatre was an immense blue tent with a double roof. It had a stage, a place for the orchestra immediately in front, a parquet, and a raised gallery with three rows of seats. There were no female actors, males being substituted. Simple plays like "Box and Cox"[33] were the sort of drama enacted. To secure a large attendance, prizes of silverware, pitchers, and goblets were offered for the best conundrums handed in from the audience, which would have elected in advance those who were to act as judges. At one of these performances, the committee on conundrums took their places on the stage, and when the riddles were read there was frequent applause. Finally, the chairman of the committee asked if they were all in. A voice with a peculiar drawl inquired from the gallery: "Can I ask one of them ker thunder fums?" "Send it down," said the chairman. "But I can't write," he replied. "Well, give it to us anyway," the committee members answered. At that time, the Chinese were curiosities on the coast; and when the man asked in his drawling voice, "Why is a Chinaman different from all other animals?" everybody laughed. "Give us the answer," said the chairman. The man replied, in the same inimitable manner, "Because his tail sprouts from the wrong end!" The crowd roared with laughter and someone cried, "Give him the pitcher!" He received it, and went off and filled it with whiskey, and then treated everybody.

Early in the forenoon of the Sunday on which the funeral was to be held, I had my little group of singers practicing hymns, and by three o'clock in the afternoon there was quite a gathering, nearly all of whom were strangers to one another. When everything was ready, Reverend Mr. Benton stepped to the head of the coffin and began to read the service in a slow and solemn manner: "What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? . . ." A voice in the gallery exclaimed, "I give it up! Hanged, if I don't give it up!" Mr. Benton said, quietly, "We shall finish the services at the grave." It was impossible for him to continue, and we could not sing. We followed the remains to the cemetery near Sutter's Fort, where there was no further interruption.

On the bank of the Sacramento and directly in front of our office, stood a very tall sycamore. High up in its forks, was fastened a large black bag, belonging to someone who had evidently placed it there for safekeeping. Nobody had interfered with it, and it was as safe there as if it were under lock and key. One forenoon, I heard the cry of "Thief, thief!" I looked out and saw a large crowd running toward the tree, up which a man had climbed, nearly to the bag. They made him come down, and he told them that it was his bag – that he had put it there before he went to the mines last July. One of the crowd said, "Tell us what is in the bag. If you lie to us, we will whip you right here and now." The man mentioned some of the things that were in it, and the people agreed to let him go up and get it. It was hard, climbing up the smooth bark of the sycamore, but he unlashed the bag and brought it down. There were more inspectors looking on at that moment than there were in Uncle Sam's Custom House in San Francisco! On examination, one could see that it was his bag, beyond any doubt.

Someone in the crowd remarked, "Everybody in town has been watching and guarding that bag, and you have paid no storage on it. Now you have got to stand treat." "That I willingly will do," he replied. "There is the river, help yourselves!" The crowd scattered; and as I looked at that tall, rawboned man, with long hair and beard, I recognized him as one of our original Philadelphia party who had left us at Tepic, Mexico, in April, six months before. I said to him, "Robert Thompson, how do you do?" He had been in the Southern Mines and was as surprised and delighted to see me as I was to see him. We then went and had lunch together. He had been married a night or two before starting for California and had left his young wife to enjoy their honeymoon alone. Six years passed before he was able to send for her to come to California. I shall mention him further on.

Politics without party lines now became active. The Constitutional Convention at Monterey had completed its labors, and had incorporated in the Constitution a declaration that there should be no slavery [34] in California. On that question the Convention had been unanimous, to the great satisfaction of everybody. The document was to be submitted to the people of California for ratification, and in accordance with its provisions they were to vote at the same time for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, two Congressmen, sixteen State Senators, and thirty-six Assemblymen. Tuesday, November 13, 1849, was the day set for the election – and I was to cast my second vote. The clerks of the election at Sacramento were John Bigler (afterwards Governor) and Newton Sewell, my fellow passenger in May from Mazatlan.

The Constitution was ratified by a vote of 13 to 1.[35] Among those elected to office were Peter H. Burnett as Governor, John McDougal as Lieutenant Governor, and S. W. Wright and Edward Gilbert as members of Congress.

As soon as the results of the election became known, a self-appointed committee at Sacramento organized a ratification celebration, that was held on the banks of the Sacramento on the Saturday evening following. Great enthusiasm prevailed. One of the most eloquent orators was E. J. C. Kewen.[36] He spoke last and left his large audience in the seventh heaven. After the meeting, the Committee retired to a private champagne supper, but the people wouldn't leave; they called repeatedly for "anybody." Finally, a newly arrived emigrant from across the plains, with his blankets on his shoulders, mounted the platform, laid down his bundle, and then began grandiloquently to make a speech. He said: "Gentlemen and fellow citizens, this is a great and a growing country. The American Eagle has flewed over it!" The crowd said, "What is your name? Give us your name." He replied with great dignity, "My name, gentlemen, is one that is held most near and dear to the hearts of the American people!" "What is it?" several inquired. He replied, "John Smith."

"This is a great and growing country," he continued. "The American Eagle has flewed over it. Haven't we got the great Mammoth Cave of Kentucky? And the great Mississippi River? And in half an hour's time, we can turn the Mississippi River into the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, then whar's your shipping? Floundering like porpoises at low tide! Good-night, gentlemen." He spread his blankets and went to bed before them all. One young man sang out, "Say your prayers, old fellow!"

Thus the meeting, that had been called to celebrate the adoption of the Constitution and the election of officers, came to an end.

Seven weeks of rain followed, without a sight of the sun. The Sacramento Valley became a sea, dotted with islands. Fortunately I got my money, clothing, and blankets together in time and went up into the loft of a butcher shop next door, at the southeast corner of I and Front streets. On the morning of New Year's Day 1850, the water was four feet deep in the highest lying streets of the city. Death and destruction went down stream with the flood. We obtained a long boat from a ship, filled it with such provisions as we could get and a big canvas tent, and pulled out for the highlands north of the American River where we camped for three weeks. We had plenty of good beef, which formed our principal food.

The whole country seemed to be under water. Horses, mules, and cattle were drowned, while thousands of people coming by sea had nowhere to go. Knowing that this condition of affairs would last several months, I proposed to three of the party who had money that we form a company, go to San Francisco, take passage on a vessel bound for the southern part of the State where we could buy horses, and in the spring we would drive them north and herd and break them to harness near Sacramento. To this they agreed. I was to act as interpreter and agent, and they were to give me an equal share with them. Thereupon we broke camp and returned to

Sacramento, which was still under water. We secured passage to San Francisco in a small schooner at the rate of twelve dollars each; a Mr. Gillett, Elijah McDougal, another man whose name I have forgotten, and myself formed the party. Upon our arrival in San Francisco, we found only one place where we could get lodgings, and that was high up on Telegraph Hill.

Fugitives from the floods, as well as those who arrived by sea, added to the congestion within the city. After searching among the vessels that thronged the harbor, we found the brig *Honolulu* under Captain Horton, which would take us to San Pedro for forty dollars each (or two and a half ounces of gold dust), and we paid a premium on a further exchange of gold dust for some Mexican doubloons and smaller money.

On January 23, 1850, we sailed for Santa Cruz. We arrived there the following day, and landed a Mrs. Farnham and two other passengers, in addition to about two tons of Hawaiian potatoes [37] for planting. Saturday the twenty-sixth we left for Monterey, which we reached that night.

On Sunday, while the others were looking at the town, I visited the Old Custom House, where the American flag was first raised by Commodore Sloat when he took possession of California. I then went up on the hills to see the fortifications, and looked carefully over the location of this apparently abandoned old fort. The lines of the lower earthworks were on the first bench or elevation. On the upper line of entrenchments was a block house constructed by Midshipman Wm. P. Toler, Acting Flag Lieutenant and interpreter for Commodore Sloat. It had recently been used as a sentry station. There was also an old iron honey-combed cannon without a carriage or prolonge, lying in an angle of the earthworks.

Soon a man came out of the pine woods above me. He had a double-barreled shot gun and was shooting red-winged blackbirds. He wore an army officer's cape hanging loosely from his shoulders. We approached each other and said "Good-morning!" I asked him where all the soldiers were. He replied that those who had not been discharged had deserted and gone to the mines. I then asked if he were the only one there at Monterey, and he said that for the present he was. When I inquired his name, he said it was "Sherman." Whereupon I said, "Shake! My name is Sherman, too." He then invited me to take a seat on a log near the blockhouse. During our conversation, we found that we were of the same stock. He was descended from Reverend John Sherman, who arrived in Boston from England in 1633, and I was descended from his brother, Philip Sherman, who arrived in 1634. The former went to Connecticut, the latter to Rhode Island. The blood of both of these streams met at West Point in later years. The man I met at Monterey was then a lieutenant and afterwards became General William Tecumseh Sherman, at the head of the United States army, while my near relative was General Thomas W. Sherman. Both of them won their stars during the Civil War for the preservation of the Union.

Noticing my interest in the earthworks, the lieutenant said, "You talk like a West Pointer." I replied that I had studied fortifications in the field, and was fairly well acquainted with many of the graduates of the military academy, but that I was not one of them. I told him that I had served in a subordinate capacity under both General [Zachary] Taylor and General [Winfield] Scott. The lieutenant had been stationed in California during the Mexican War, but had not taken part in the actual fighting. He had yet to win his spurs.

For about two hours, Lieutenant Sherman put me through a rigid examination on the Mexican War, and when he was through he said, "You have given me the most intelligent account of the campaigns of Generals Taylor and Scott in the War with Mexico that I have learned from any source," and he congratulated me on my observation and memory. We went down to the town together and he invited me to lunch with him at a restaurant in an adobe building; after which we shook hands and separated.

I then visited the old two story barracks now torn down, Colton Hall[38] in the upper part of the town, and other places of historic interest. We sailed from Monterey on Monday evening, January twenty-eighth, and on Thursday, February first, 1850, we arrived at San Pedro, where we left the vessel – just one year from the time I embarked for California *via* Mexico.

We obtained a good meal and lodgings, and upon making inquiry as to the chances of buying horses in that part of California, we were advised to go to the rancho of Don Antonio Machado, a few miles away. Leaving a part of our company at San Pedro, we hired horses to take us to see Machado, whom we found at home. He informed us that he had some good horses for sale, which were broken to the saddle, but that it would take a few days to get them together.

We asked whether we could stop with him, and after he had talked with his wife he said that we could. Machado then sent his *vaqueros* to take our hired horses back to their owners and to bring my other partners and the baggage to his rancho. To show our confidence in him and put him at his ease, we placed our sewed-up bag of doubloons in his charge. He and his family were very pious and were punctual in their family devotions, and we never intruded upon their private worship.

We stayed at the Machado Ranch ten days. The food was good, and the old lady, to be sure that the eggs were fresh, would catch the hens, put them into baskets, and keep them covered until they announced that they had fulfilled her requirements. Whereupon she would give them handfuls of corn, to reward them for their industry and to silence their vociferous proclamations.

When the cows were milked, it was necessary to tie their tails and hind legs tightly together; otherwise, no matter how gentle a Spanish California cow might be, she would not permit herself to be milked. This was the custom all over California.

Before leaving Machado's, we made a trip to Los Angeles and called on a Spanish Californian by the name of Bernardino Lopez. He had a small rancho in town, with a large corral in which we could keep our horses until we were ready to return north.

We bought thirty head of fine saddle horses of Machado. The lowest price was twenty dollars and the highest thirty-five, delivered at the Lopez corral in Los Angeles. We paid Machado the money and had the vent [39] placed on the left shoulder of each horse. He would take no pay for our ten days' board and lodging, but we persuaded his wife to take three doubloons, which had a value of forty-eight dollars. Our bag of money was delivered to us intact, with expressions of good will from the whole Machado family.

We visited the ranchos of the Dominguez, Yorba, Pico and other families, and bought horses which were to be delivered and paid for at Los Angeles. In former years when there was a drouth in that part of California, as the horned cattle were considered the most valuable because of their hides and tallow, the horses would be driven by thousands into large corrals on the plains, and the *vaqueros* would lasso them, and pierce them to death with lances. Then they would cut off their manes and tails for ropes. This was done to save the pasturage for the cattle, the hides of which, called "California bank bills," had an average value of two dollars apiece. The buzzards and crows cleaned up the *matanzas* or slaughter fields.

Two of us took a guide, and after seeing the Mission San Gabriel [40] near Los Angeles we went as far as Old Town San Diego,[41] and visited the missions of San Luis Rey,[42] San Juan Capistrano,[43] and San Diego,[44] and also Point Loma, and then went to the spot where R. H. Dana, Jr., packed dry hides on his head and carried them to the storehouse on the beach at the lower end of San Diego Bay. The Indians and padres had deserted the missions, and they were rapidly going to decay. There they stood in their loneliness, while the passage of time was returning their walls to their native soil.

The poet Longfellow must have learned from R. H. Dana, Jr., about the condition of the missions in California, and probably had them in mind when he wrote "The Bells of San Blas," changing the locality in the title. . . .

On our return to Los Angeles, we exercised our horses a little every day, until they got to know us and we them. Altogether, we had nearly two hundred and fifty head. We hired *vaqueros* and prepared to leave by the twentieth of March.

A few days before we started, our host at Los Angeles, Bernardino Lopez, asked me if we would take his two boys, one fourteen years old and the other twelve, along with us, and deliver them to their godfather, Capt. Richardson,[45] at Sausalito. I answered, "Yes." He said that they would be a help in driving the horses, as well as in other ways, and it was pleasantly arranged for them to accompany us.

Lopez had a pure Arabian mare, which he had raised by hand from a colt. Its mother had died, and it had become a household pet. It would eat bread, *tortillas,* sugar, and salt from the table, and in cold weather would come in and lie in front of the fire like a dog. I never before saw an animal of the horse kind that was so domesticated.

On the morning we were to start on our journey north, Lopez said, "Let the others go on, and you can overtake them." He then saddled the pet mare, and after embracing all around we mounted and rode away. When we had ridden about two miles, and had reached the hills above Los Angeles, we halted and dismounted at his request. He made his two boys kneel in front of him. All of us uncovered and knelt while he placed his hands upon their heads and offered one of the most fervent prayers, asking God to watch over and protect his sons, to which I had ever listened. Then taking their hands and placing them in mine, he committed them to my charge with his blessing. After this, he unsaddled the pet mare, took off the bridle, and placed the hair rope that was around her neck in the hand of the older boy, saying, "Take her along with you, my boys. She will remind you of home." He kissed them and bade us *adios*; and putting the saddle, blanket, and bridle on his shoulder, started back on foot to his home.

With the two boys, I hastened to overtake the others with the horses, and in half an hour we came up with them. In driving so large a band of horses, it required more than ordinary skill to keep them from breaking away and returning to the localities where they had been raised. The bell-mare led with a rapid gait. She was their general guide, and nearly as useful to us as the bells of the missions were to the Indian neophytes. It was necessary to drive hard the first few days. We crossed the mountains into Santa Clara Valley [46] and made camp the first night. The next day we arrived at Mission San Buenaventura.[47] We crossed the river and continued on to Carpinteria, where we halted for the night. There was a large corral for our horses, and our *vaqueros,* as well as ourselves, got a good night's rest.

Our route the next day lay through the town of Santa Barbara. I was anxious to verify the statement of R. H. Dana, Jr., in his book, *Two Years Before The Mast*, that in the organ loft of the mission [48] was a hand organ, used in the devotional exercises of the Indian neophytes. In the list of tunes it played, including those for dancing, was one called, "Go to the Devil and Shake Yourself." When I read it the first time in Dana's book, I thought it was overdrawn. Now that I had the opportunity, I was going to see for myself if the hand organ was there and whether it played the tunes mentioned. I went up into the loft with the Spanish Californian in charge of the mission. Sure enough, there was the veritable instrument. Then I looked on the printed card giving the tunes it played and saw "Go to the Devil and Shake Yourself." I said to the man in charge that, for religious purposes, it was necessary to change one little word, which I did with my pencil and substituted *from* in place of *to*. He wanted to know what the title meant in Spanish, and when I translated it, he smiled but looked incredulous.... I have been told that the hand organ has since been removed; and if I am reliably informed, it or one like it is now at Mission San Juan Bautista in San Benito County....

At Mission Santa Barbara, I was permitted to copy excerpts from the report to the Spanish Government made by Fr. Mariano Payéras [49] in December 1817, showing the condition of the missions and giving statistics on the number of persons baptised, married, and deceased at each mission, from the date of its founding to the date of the report. Fr. Payéras' report covered the nineteen existing missions, beginning with Mission San Diego de Alcalá, founded July 16, 1769, to Mission Santa Inez, founded in 1804.

The distance from Mission San Diego to Mission San Francisco,[50] by way of the missions, was given as 210 leagues; the total number baptized, 64,675; married, 17,539; and died, 41,756. The number of persons then attached to the missions was 20,238. The missions owned 130,298 head of cattle, 173,995 sheep, 1,431 goats, 1,720 swine, 16,096 horses, mares and colts, and 1,904 mules. The crops of 1817 had cost $4,184 to put in and harvest, and the yield was valued at $93,250, showing a profit of $89,066 or 95½ per cent.

The copy of the report that I made at the Santa Barbara Mission I presented some ten or twelve years afterward to the Pioneer Society of Sacramento,[51] of which I was a member. In the April 1912 number of the *Grizzly Bear* [52] magazine, it made its appearance, with other matters, in an article written by Thomas R. Jones, "Important Happenings Fifty Years Ago."

Resuming our journey at midday, we reached the *Sal si Puedes* [53] (get out if you can), a labyrinth of matted thicket. To avoid it, we had to climb the long zigzag trail up Santa Inez (St. Agnes) Mountain, in the high Coast Range north of Santa Barbara. It took nearly until night to get our horses up to the summit. The view of land and sea from there was sublime, but we had to bid it good-bye and hasten down the north side of the range, which was heavily timbered. We pushed on to the Mission Santa Inez [54] in its beautiful valley. Here we were fortunate in securing another corral and water for our horses, as well as a good supper for ourselves, although it was very late at night.

We had an early breakfast the next morning and started off slowly, in order to allow our horses to revel in the luxurious *fileria* [55] – a sort of pin-grass and very nutritious – and the wild oats, that cover the country in spring. After an hour's feeding, we proceeded at a more lively rate, until we reached the Guadalupe River, which we forded to the north side where there was a ranch house. The owner kept a sort of store. We wanted to buy some meat, but he was very sullen and would not sell us anything, although we had the Lopez boys entreat him. We were all hungry and cross that we had met a man of that kind. I told him we would avail ourselves of the rule of necessity provided in the Spanish laws of California. We took a box of soda crackers, a small bag of salt, and caught and killed a yearling calf, the hide of which we saved and laid before him on his counter with a Mexican doubloon. We then drove on a short distance and camped for the night. Every one roasted his own piece of veal on a stick over the fire. With the soda crackers, it tasted good to hungry men. We herded our horses that night and had difficulty in keeping them together.

The next morning we rode to Mission San Luis Obispo,[56] arriving there about noon. We continued on until, about two hours before sunset, we arrived at a large ranch house where we found a good corral and got a first class Spanish California dinner, with *tortillas* made of unbolted [coarse, unsifted] wheat flour instead of corn.

We had breakfast at daylight the next morning, as we knew that we had a long hard ride in order to reach Mission Soledad [57] by the next evening. Each one of us took a string of jerked beef to chew along the way, because we could get nothing to eat until we reached the mission. By frequently changing horses, we gave them a chance to nip the wild oats as we rode along. Besides, it gave us a slight change in the oscillating movement of our horses, which sometimes was more vertical than horizontal, when they were predisposed to "buck."

With our chief guide and the two Lopez boys, I rode a fast gait ahead, until, late at night when we were very tired, we heard the crowing of roosters in the distance and the howling of a dog, which was music to our ears. We aroused the few inhabitants at the mission and secured a big corral for our horses. It was about midnight when we sat down on benches to eat our supper of chicken, eggs, a lot of warmed-up *frijoles*, *tortillas*, and steaming hot coffee. A chill north wind was blowing, but with our blankets we were comfortable, and some of our horses even snored, they were so tired.

As we were not in so much of a hurry the next morning, our breakfast was late. We then started out, and after crossing the Salinas River and going around the base of the Gabilan Mountains, about two o'clock in the afternoon we reached Mission San Juan Bautista,[58] having entered the neighborhood made famous by the incident [59] between Capt. John C. Fremont and General Jose Castro, which created the embryo of the Bear Flag Revolution [60] in June 1846. We got a good dinner at the mission, and then pushed on about seven miles farther to Gilroy's Ranch,[61] letting our horses graze by the way.

We found a large corral there, and were also provided with good food and splendid coffee. The next morning, we started about nine o'clock, traveling slowly to let our horses feed all they wanted. About four o'clock we arrived in the outskirts of San Jose, the first capital [62] of the State of California. Securing first a corral for our horses, we went to a restaurant and got a square American meal to which we did full justice.

At San Jose the Lopez boys found their cousins and aunt. They preferred to stop there, instead of being delivered to their godfather, Capt. Richardson, at Sausalito. I told them they would have to go with me before the alcalde of San Jose, so that I could be legally released. The papers were made out, a copy given to me, one sent to their father at Los Angeles, and another to Capt. Richardson. We gave each boy sixteen dollars, in consideration of their services, and then we parted, the boys taking their family pet mare with them.

The first legislature [63] of California was still in session and near adjournment. Those who had to return home by land were glad to pay good prices for saddle horses, and we sold nearly eighty head. We discharged half a dozen of our *vaqueros* who wanted to return home, and employed three others to help drive the horses the rest of the way.

We stayed four days at San Jose before resuming our journey. Continuing north by way of Mission San Jose [64] and Livermore Pass, we pushed on to within a few miles of Martinez, where we stopped at a ranch and kept a double watch on our horses at night, as they now were more valuable. We obtained food at the ranch and the next morning started direct for Martinez where we soon arrived.

We found that we would be detained two days at Carquinez Strait, in ferrying our horses across at five dollars a head on a small horse-power boat; but, inconvenient as it was, we succeeded in getting them all over without losing any. Fortunately, there were hotels and restaurants in both Martinez and Benicia, where we were well supplied. After learning that the water was still high at Sacramento, we followed along the west side of the valley near the foot of the hills. We drove along slowly, letting our horses graze at intervals as we traveled, until at evening we arrived at Wolfskill's Ranch.[65] We wanted first to hire his corral for the night, as it was not in use. He would not let us have it, pay or no pay, nor could we buy anything to eat. We wanted to buy a young steer. He had thousands but would not sell us one. He had been in the country several years, and knew the California laws of necessity and hospitality. His houses were well stocked with flour and other provisions. So, as in a former case, we had to act accordingly. Our *vaqueros* lassoed a steer and killed it. We put our horses in his corral. We went into his storehouse, took a sack of flour and some salt, borrowed his frying pans in which to fry flapjacks, broiled our meat on coals out of doors, and ate both supper and breakfast in rough camp style.

The next morning we went to his house, and left sixteen dollars and the hide of the steer we had killed on the floor inside of the doorstep. We then rode several miles to Uncle Billy Gordon's Ranch [66] on Cache Creek, where we met with a courteous welcome. We put our horses in his large corral, and then had a fine supper of antelope venison, warm biscuits, and delicious coffee. Our long journey from Los Angeles was ended. We still retained our employees and made satisfactory arrangements with Uncle Billy Gordon to board with him and have the use of his corral and wagons, while we were trying to break our horses to harness. The high water was keeping up, and as we could get no satisfactory information, I resolved to make my way to Sacramento City by land, if possible.

I took my light limbed mare, Kitty, for the trip, as I knew that a heavier horse might flounder and get stuck in the mud. Saddling her with a strong but soft saddle blanket, my own blanket being strapped on behind, and with a very long horsehair rope for hitching, picketing, and other emergencies, I bade them good-bye, and started off first for Knight's Landing [67] on the Sacramento River, some twelve or fifteen miles above the mouth of the Feather River. I had to go a long way around to avoid overflowed land and sloughs, and after a hard day's ride through mud and water, I reached the landing – a hamlet on the west bank of the Sacramento. The people could hardly believe that I had come through from Gordon's Ranch. I got a good supper and bed, and some hay for my mare.

After breakfast, I had a small sack of baked biscuit put up, for I was going to start for Fremont, opposite the mouth of the Feather River, although I was told that it was impossible to make the trip. The Feather River was adding its volume to the Sacramento, which was already swollen by the melting of the snows. It did look dubious, but I was determined to undertake it. In many places I waded in water two feet deep on the edge of the bank of the river. I could tell it was the edge from the curvature of the water as it poured over into the tules beyond. My little mare looked up at me pitifully at times, and I had all I could do to keep up my courage; but I petted her, and gave her a biscuit now and then, which she ate voraciously. We kept on and just at sunset we both entered Fremont on foot, she right at my heels, her chin resting on my shoulder.

People there would not believe at first that we had made the trip from Gordon's Ranch on Cache Creek by way of Knight's Landing. I got a little more hay for my mare at Fremont. As she had learned to eat biscuit baked in a Dutch oven, I had a double quantity baked on her account. They told me I could not possibly get through to the town of Washington,[68] which was twelve miles below, opposite Sacramento. Still, I was determined to try.

I had a good breakfast, and with some hay and baked biscuit for my little horse, I braced myself for the third trial, which proved to be the hardest for us both. I followed the edge of the bank of the river, wading two and a half feet deep in water and mud. At times I came to a slough, through which the water was running like a mill race into the tules, the bridges being washed away. The banks, though they were a little higher ground, were slippery with mud and dangerous for both of us. Talking encouragingly to my pet, I tied one end of the long hair rope around my blankets and the other end to her neck; then, with the middle or bight in my hand, I plunged into the cold water, swam across, and hauled up my blankets, which I spread on the mud for her to step on when she came out of the water.... This had to be repeated several times, but about four o'clock in the afternoon, wet through, covered with mud, and my blankets lost, we reached the town of Washington, after passing hundreds of dead animals and abandoned wagons on the way. I got two loaves of bread for my mare while I took my own refreshment partly in liquid form. I then crossed on the ferry, which was run by my old Philadelphia companion, Joseph D. Watson, to Sacramento.

Front Street was almost impassible because of the mud, and the greater part of Sacramento was still under water. Everything looked gloomy. I learned that my former employers had moved a little farther down on Front Street to the attic of a story-and-a-half building, which was entered by an inclined plane with cleats nailed down for steps. I walked up, my pet mare right along with me, into the office, where we were objects of surprise and curiosity as well as welcome. Some of the people had followed us. When I told my former employers how I had come through, it seemed almost incredible to them, and my little horse had more admirers than a belle at a ball. A place was fixed for her in the back part of the attic, with straw from a crate for her to lie on; but she could not bear to have me out of her sight. I got something to eat at a restaurant, and scraped together all the broken pieces of bread as well as biscuit to feed my pet, along with some fresh grass from beyond Poverty Hill.[69]

The day after my arrival, I went to the Post Office and found a letter from my brother Charles, saying that he had arrived the latter part of March on the ship *Argonaut* from Boston; that he was in a hotel, back of Sacramento Street, between Montgomery and Kearney streets in San Francisco, and was very anxious to see me. The letter was nearly two months old. But "blood is thicker than water," and as I was anxious to see him and knew that it would be nearly two months before any teaming could be done to the mines, I resolved to go to San Francisco.

I sold my pet mare for two hundred and fifty dollars. I felt as if I had betrayed and sold my best friend, but as I hugged and kissed her, I realized that she was going into good hands. I got passage on a schooner bound for San Francisco, and in three days reached the city.

After refitting myself with new clothes, I went to the hotel where I found that my brother was one of the proprietors and was having a big run of business. We were glad to meet each other. I could not go to work for him, however, as I had no taste for that sort of business. Doctors and lawyers were serving as waiters at the tables, and preachers of the gospel as what were vulgarly called "hash slingers," but the Sherman blood is not menial and, excepting parentally, cannot be ruled for any length of time by one of its own kind. Hence my stay in San Francisco was not long at that time.

The upper Sacramento Valley was still inundated, and as the "Southern Mines" [70] had become the chief districts of attraction, I formed a company with three others – a Mr. Frank Rutherford, another American, and an Italian called "Charlie" – to mine in the Merced River on its upper bar. We had our rocker made in San Francisco, where we bought our outfit and supplies; and, securing our passage with the privilege of rowing a three ton boat, the *Slough City,* to Stockton, we took our departure from San Francisco early in May 1850.

We arrived in Stockton on a Saturday morning, after rowing and fighting mosquitoes in swarms all night. We got our outfit ashore, and when we had cooked and eaten a hasty breakfast and had taken a two-hours' nap, which somewhat refreshed us, we left two of our party to guard our supplies and looked around for a way to get our stuff hauled to our destination. There were no teams to be found, nor any pack mules to be bought or hired. A large number of people like ourselves were literally "stuck in the mud." I had noticed same half dozen handcarts on the bank of the slough, which were locked, with chains to their wheels. I found who had charge of them and that they were for sale for four ounces or $64 each. We then tried to see if we could buy a gentle horse or mule, but none was to be had at any price.

The next day being Sunday, I went around among the canvas-covered stores and gambling tents, where there were plenty of Mexicans dealing and playing at monte. Among them were some very hard looking fellows. One was the afterwards notorious highwayman and murderer, Joaquin Murieta.[71]

As it was growing dark, I returned to camp. We had supper, and then rolled up in our blankets. The next morning, after an early breakfast, I took a stroll over to a camp of Sonora Mexicans, to see what animals might be in their corral. There were some half dozen mules, a bell mare, and a large jackass, but none was for sale.

I met an old Mexican whom I had talked with in the gambling tent the night before. He was "busted," but he owned the jackass, and after a long time spent in dickering and haggling over the price, he said he would sell it for six ounces or $96.00. I told him I would take the animal and that he must go with me to the alcalde, who would make out the bill of sale, to be signed and acknowledged. I paid over the money, as well as the alcalde's fee, and led the jackass to our camp, where my companions thought there were two of us.

Leaving the "jack" in their care, I went to see the man in charge of the handcarts, bargained for one and paid him his price. He was the late Dr. George A. Shurtleff,[72] who for many years afterward was the superintendent of the insane asylum at that place. I then went to a store and bought several yards of stout canvas to make into a harness, and also a saw with which I took off the pushbar in front of the cart and made rough shafts, to fit the donkey. Then I loaded the cart, ran it up to his rear, and hitched him to it.

So, with one man to lead him, another to persuade and reason with him, and two to push, we made our exit, amid the applause of the populace of that mud metropolis. At first he was a "standpatter," non-progressive "insurgent," but our Italian Charlie gave Rutherford the leading rope, jumped on top of the animal, and with one load on his back and another to haul, the jack started on a run of about three miles, while we on foot got nearly out of breath before he slackened his gait and made normal progress in the direction we were going.

After several days we reached a point opposite the upper bar of the Merced River, where gold had been discovered. We kept our donkey picketed, and he was the best kind of a guard, as he announced the approach of horsemen long before we knew that they were in our vicinity.

When we had been there a couple of weeks, some people below us had most of their horses stolen by the Indians, and wanted part of our little company to go and help recapture them, on horses they would furnish. I volunteered, as did Charlie, the Italian. We followed the trail for about two and a half days to the edge of a stupendous deep gorge, which we descended; and then, continuing along the edge of a stream, which was the Merced River, we suddenly came upon the Indians' camp and opened fire. They immediately fled higher up the valley, abandoning the horses (one had been killed). We then retraced our route with the recovered animals. By the time we reached our camp, we had been absent six days.

That deep chasm we called "The Devil's Cellar." It now goes by another name; and a second discoverer, a Captain Savage,[73] the year afterward, gave it the name of the "Yosemite Valley." There are now more discoverers of that valley than Hutchings ever dreamed of.

Finding that it would be a great loss of time if we waited for the river to fall so that we could do some mining on the bar, we sold over half of our provisions and stores to the party below us – mining tools, rocker, and all – and started to return to San Francisco. Sometimes the momentum on the downhill grade would be so great that the jack would sit down and slide; but not being shod that high up on his rear, he would occasionally sound his horn to tell us that we were leading too fast lives.

As we were coming out of the foothills, we halted to cook breakfast, and were nearly ready to eat it, when about a half dozen Mexicans rode up. I recognized the leader as Joaquin Murieta, a dreaded bandit. I walked up to him, and, speaking in Spanish, invited him and his party to take breakfast as our guests. They alighted and most courteously partook of our hospitality, thanked us, mounted their horses, and rode away. We prepared and ate another breakfast, after which we hitched up and resumed our journey along the bank of the Merced River, where some mining had been recently carried on. When we had traveled about four miles, we came upon the bodies of three men, who had been shot and their throats cut. Continuing on about three miles further, there were two more bodies in like condition, who undoubtedly had been murdered by Joaquin Murieta and his band. Our fearlessness and hospitality, no doubt, saved our lives; but it was our faithful sentinel, the jackass, whose friendly warning had given us time to be prepared.

We continued our journey to Crescent City[74] and Empire City, opposite each other on the Tuolumne River. Fortunately for us, there were seven or eight sailors who had reached those places in a whaleboat, and were on their way to the mines. We made a trade with them, by which we took their whaleboat in exchange for our donkey and handcart and half of our provisions; and then we started pulling the oars to San Francisco, which took us nearly a week. Ferocious mosquitoes deprived us of comfort, rest and sleep, and neither Webster's nor Worcester's dictionary could supply language appropriate to the occasion. By taking advantage of the tides, we pulled into San Francisco early on that June morning in 1850, and had just eaten our breakfast when a fire[75] broke out next to us in the Sacramento Hotel, and spread rapidly over the whole of San Francisco south of Clay Street, leaving nothing but ashes and ruin.

(To be continued)

NOTES

19. The buildings and enclosure of this fort, erected by John Augustus Sutter in 1839, and now restored, owing to deterioration of its original tule roof and adobe walls, are preserved in one of Sacramento's public parks.

20. In April 1849, E. O. Crosby and his associates opened a town at the mouth of the Feather, which they called Vernon. A short time later, Jonas Spect [of the firm of Spect and Winston] founded Fremont, on the west side of the river opposite Vernon. Earl Ramey, "The Beginnings of Marysville," this QUARTERLY, XIV (September 1935), 212.

21. The Sacramento Transcript of August 5, 1850, commented on the "...incredibly short space of time in which the banks of Feather and Yuba rivers have been lined with villages. Six months ago the cities of Nicolaus, Hamilton, Yuba, and Vernon were not in existence; some of them now contain a population of over 600, and numbers of the finest frame houses are erected in them every day." *My Playhouse Was a Concord*

Coach, Newspaper Clippings Compiled by Mae Hélène Boggs (Oakland: Howell-North Press, 1942), p. 59.

22. Rose's Bar, on the south side of the Yuba River, some twenty miles above Marysville, was worked as late as 1857, and proved to be extremely rich.

23. William Preston Stapp, *The Prisoners of Perote* (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber and Co., 1845), p. 126, mentions General Thomas Green as having escaped from the Castle of Perote.

24. Mier is a hilltown, only a short distance from the Mexican bank of the Rio Grande. The battle of Mier, in December 1842, ended in capitulation by the Texans, after it became evident that they were greatly outnumbered. Stapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

25. The Castle of Perote, a noted fortress, was built on an eminence in the midst of a wild moorland plain, about 96 English miles from Puebla. A detailed description of the castle is given by Stapp, one of the prisoners, in his journal, *op. cit.*, p. 112. American troops under General W. J. Worth took possession of the castle on April 22, 1847. Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1919), II, 61.

26. General Riley, in his "Proclamation recommending the formation of a State Constitution, or a plan of a Territorial Government," states that in accordance with instructions from the Secretary of War, he "assumed the administration of civil affairs in California, not as a military governor, but as the executive of the existing civil government."

27. The following were elected as delegates to the general convention from the Sacramento District: Jacob R. Snyder, Winfield S. Sherwood, L. W. Hastings, J. A. Sutter, John McDougal, E. O. Crosby, M. M. McCarver, and W. E. Shannon. J. Ross Browne, *The Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution* (Washington, 1850), p. 478.

28. According to the Placer Times of February 16, 1850, Nicolaus was named after the public spirited proprietor of a tract of land, previously known as Nicolaus Ranch, who, in response to requests, caused one square mile of his property to be laid off into a town. It was described as being situated at the head of steam navigation on the Feather River, twelve miles from its mouth. Emigrants coming over the plains passed through Nicolaus to reach Sacramento. Boggs, *op. cit.*, 42. In "An Irishman in the Gold Rush," this QUARTERLY, VIII (March 1929), 23-24, the owner's name is given as Nicolaus Altgeier.

29. In letter No. 20, written from San Francisco on October 27, 1850, Edward Hotchkiss speaks of cholera as "hovering all about us," and of his fear that it would make havoc among the passengers leaving San Francisco in such quantities by sailing vessels and steamers. This QUARTERLY, XII (June 1933), 102.

30. Negro Bar, on the American River, was the precursor of the town of Folsom.

31. Mormon Island, a gravel bar in the American River, was successfully mined by members of the Mormon Battalion, from which the island derives its name. For a description of the recruiting of this battalion and their subsequent experiences, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), V, 469*ff.*

32. The reverend Joseph A. Benton came to California in July 1849, in the *Edward Everett*, and was the founder of the Congregational Church in this state.

33. John Maddison Morton's laughable farce, "Box and Cox," which its author called a "romance of real life," was a prime favorite among the plays produced at that time. George R. MacMinn, *The Theatre of the Golden Era in California* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941), p. 220. In a blackface version given in 1853, Edwin Booth played the rôle of the negro dandy. Constance Rourke, *Troopers of the Gold Coast, or the Rise of Lotta Crabtree* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1928), p. 52.

34. Article I, Section 18, of the Declaration of Rights, Constitution of the State of

California, says: "Neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this State."

35. As to the actual number of votes cast in the election, 12,061 were in favor of ratification and 811 were opposed. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California,* 1849-1892 (Sacramento, 1893), p. 4.

36. Edward J. C. Kewen was the first attorney general of California.

37. These may have been sweet potatoes *(Ipomoea Batatas)*, which, with bananas, yams *(Dioscorea)*, breadfruit, and cocoanut, formed a large part of the diet of the native Hawaiians.

38. Colton Hall was built by the Reverend Walter Colton, U. S. N., who took office as the first American alcalde of Monterey on July 30, 1846. The Constitutional Convention was held in the room occupying the whole of the upper story.

39. A special brand, or a bar placed across the brand of the seller, indicating that the animal has been sold.

40. Mission San Gabriel Arcángel was founded September 8, 1771, by Padres Somero and Cambón, both of whom, owing to ill-health, were succeeded the following year by Padres Paterna and Cruzado. In 1775 the mission was moved to a new (the present) location, in one of the most fertile districts in the province. It was likewise in a strategic place for lines of communication north and south, as well as over the Tubac-Monterey route. To provide for such distinguished travelers as Anza and the many others along these routes was often a drain on the food resources of the mission, but the yield of the crops and herds seems to have been sufficient until secularization, when the resources of this large and prosperous community dwindled away. The church, completed in 1800, alone remains, after undergoing the vicissitudes usually associated with earthquakes, a battle, and restorations made by admirers.

41. "Old Town" as applied to San Diego is here used somewhat anachronistically, as in 1850 the change in site was only being projected, and did not occur until later. *See* William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California, 1831-1906* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1929), p. 15.

42. Mission San Luis Rey de Francia (King Louis IX of France) was founded June 13, 1798, by Presidente Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, assisted by Padres Santiago and Peyri. It grew rapidly into one of the most important establishments in the chain of missions, the erection of the great church being completed in 1802, a remarkably brief period for such a structure. At the time Sherman paid his visit, only four years had passed since the Mexican War, when soldiers were billeted in its beautiful interior.

43. After Padre Lasuén's attempt to found Mission San Juan Capistrano had been abandoned the previous year because of the news of Indian troubles at Mission San Diego, Padre Serra re-blessed the site on the first day of November 1776, and the work of establishment was commenced in earnest. Several years later the mission was moved to its present location. Here its prosperity grew in such measure that by 1806 a magnificent church, skillfully ornamented, had been completed. In the "year of earthquakes," 1812, it collapsed into the ruins which Sherman found so tragic.

44. Shortly after its founding on July 16, 1769, Mission San Diego de Alcalá, the first of the California missions to be established by Padre Serra, was removed to a new locality farther up the San Diego River, where the farming conditions were thought to be better. Affairs at the mission seemed to be going exceptionally well until, in November 1775, it was attacked and burned by Indians, and Padre Luis Jaume murdered. Re-building was undertaken, with Padre Serra personally assisting, and the work of ministering to the Indians was carried on by Padres Lasuén and Fuster; but further disasters overtook the mission, so that another church had to be erected. It was dedicated in 1813 and the ruins that remain today were once part of this last church.

45. William Antonio Richardson (b. 1795 in London) was mate of the British whaler *Orion* that arrived in 1822 at Sausalito, where Ayala in the *San Carlos* was the first to find shelter on the night of August 5, 1775. Richardson went into the hides and tallow business, having for equipment two schooners that he had raised from the bottom of the bay, and in 1825 married the daughter of Ignacio Martinez, comandante of the Presidio of San Francisco. Ten years later he moved to Yerba Buena Cove, the same year being appointed by Governor Figuero (who had commissioned him to draw a map of the proposed pueblo of Yerba Buena – re-christened San Francisco in 1847), as Captain of the Port of San Francisco, the appointment being continued under Vallejo and Stockton. In 1836 he became owner of the Sausalito Rancho, that had been granted to José Antonio Galindo in 1835. When he sold his Yerba Buena property in 1841, Richardson returned to Sausalito where he had built an adobe house. He died there in April 1856. Felix Riesenberg, Jr., *Golden Gate* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), pp. 46-50; Helen Throop Purdy, "Portsmouth Square," this QUARTERLY, III (April 1924), 30-31; Thomas P. Burns, "The Oldest Street in San Francisco," *ibid.*, XIII (September 1934), 235-239. See also, *ibid*, XI (March 1932), 73.

46. This "Santa Clara Valley," which takes its name from the river, lies mainly between the San Rafael and the San Fernando mountains and is not to be confused with the riverless valley of the same name in Central California. Aubrey Drury, *California, An Intimate Guide* (New York: Harpers, 1935), p. 165.

47. San Buenaventura was one of the group of Franciscan missions established along the Santa Barbara Channel, where the Indian population was extremely dense and offered a challenge to missionary efforts. It was founded in 1782 by Padres Serra and Cambón, who had come thither from San Gabriel. The new mission prospered, not only in the number of its spiritual fruits but in its garden varieties as well. In fact, the padres' horticultural skill became famous along the coast for such refreshing achievements as cocoanuts and bananas, in addition to the more usual apple, pear, and peach. A stone structure, replacing the primitive chapel, was completed in 1809, but during the earthquake of 1812 the front portion was badly damaged.

48. On December 4, 1786, the festival of Santa Bárbara Vírgen y Martyr, Padres Antonio Paterna and Cristobal Orámas dedicated another Channel mission, named in honor of the saint, on a site that had been chosen a month earlier by Presidente Lasuén. In spite of the delays that attended the founding (four years had passed since Padre Serra established the presidio), and subsequent Indian troubles, earthquakes, and heavy storms, the building programme progressed rapidly, including the erection of a church, adobe dwellings for the Indian neophytes, granaries and tanneries; and in 1806 a large reservoir of stone and mortar, with the contributing aqueducts, was built, as water shortages were liable to occur. The earthquake of 1812 was so severe in Santa Bárbara that the church, which had been badly damage, had to be taken down. In 1815, however, a new one was commenced. It is not only still in use but is considered the strongest mission church in California.

49. Fr. Mariano Payéras joined the padres at Mission La Purísima Concepción in 1804. By 1810 he had finished an Indian version of the complete catechism and manual of confession, and had made some much needed improvements in the water supply of the mission. He became president of the California missions in 1815 and deputy prefect in 1816; and in the overwork connected with these two high offices, during which he traveled up and down the province and continued his services at La Purísima as well, he became ill and died in 1823, at the age of only fifty-four. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Franciscans in California* (Harbor Springs, Mich., 1897), pp. 364, 366-367.

50. The founding of Mission San Francisco de Asísi de los Dolores is described thus by Dr. Bolton: "On June 27 Moraga halted with his colony on the banks of the lagoon called Dolores by Anza, and by him and Father Font selected as the site for the mission

of San Francisco. Moraga chose this place as headquarters while waiting for the *San Carlos,* and as a base from which to make preparations for founding the presidio. There was fine water, good pasturage, and fuel in plenty.

"Dolores became the cradle of the city erected to the honor of St. Francis. At once a shelter of branches was made to serve as a temporary chapel. This little bowery, built on June 28, 1776, was San Francisco's first building. . . . Next day, June 29, feast of San Pedro and San Pablo, the first Mass was said. For an entire month the little colony remained here at Dolores, camped in field tents or in temporary shelters. For both colonists and missionaries Dolores was the first San Francisco home." Herbert Eugene Bolton, Anza's California Expeditions (Berkeley, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1930), I, 465.

51. It was first called the "Sacramento Pioneer Association." On Wednesday evening, January 25, 1854, about seventy persons met at Jones' Hotel on J Street between Front and Second, for the purpose of organizing a pioneer association in Sacramento. Joseph W. Winans was chairman and Samuel Colville was secretary of the meeting. On the twenty-seventh of the same month a constitution was adopted. The opening paragraph says that: "Its object shall be to cultivate the social virtues of its members, to collect and preserve information connected with the early settlement and conquest of the country, and to perpetuate the memory of those whose sagacity, enterprise and love of independence induced them to settle in the wilderness and become the germ of a new State." The name of the association was later changed to the "Sacramento Society of California Pioneers."

52. The *Grizzly Bear* is the official organ of both the Native Sons and the Native Daughters of the Golden West. It began publication in May 1907.

53. This was very likely chaparral, which Dr. Jepson describes as a shrub area composed of many species belonging to many different families. They have assumed a common habit of growth in response to hard conditions and are characterized by rigid stems, often bearing thornlike branchlets, and small, thick or leathery leaves, in some cases, as in the manzanitas, placed vertically to escape the direct rays of the sun. Willis Linn Jepson, *Silva of California,* Memoir of the University of California (Berkeley: Univ. Press, 1910), II, 38. In *A Manual of the Flowering Plants of California* (Berkeley: Associated Students Store, Univ. of Calif., 1923-1925), p. 6, Dr. Jepson says further that some of these shrubs have been reduced in size from tree species and hence form what is called a pigmy forest. They inhabit rocky or gravelly slopes or ridges, and represent for the most part a fire type formation. ". . . fire has, without doubt, run through the chaparral belt for many thousands of years, very likely one hundred thousand years at least." In starting again after fire, some species of manzanita (*Arctostaphylos glandulosa*) develop the root crown horizontally in the form of woody platforms at or just below the surface of the ground, and the new growth starts from these. As fire runs through repeatedly, the platforms continue to increase in diameter horizontally, and often become three to five feet broad. [*Sal si puedes,* even for a panzer division!]

54. Mission Santa Inés (Saint Agnes) lies between La Purísima and Santa Bárbara, but its founding on September 17, 1804, post-dated both of those missions by almost two decades. Comandante Carrillo of the Presidio of Santa Bárbara and his escort were on hand to assist Padres Calzada and Gutiérrez in the ceremonies, and all went particularly well at first, the wide extent of range land under the jurisdiction of the mission supplying not only immediate needs but a basis for actual prosperity. Only eight years afterwards came the earthquakes of 1812, which damaged the church to such a degree that a new one, completed in 1817, was built. At this time, the belfry was placed at the side. Another brief span of years was followed by the Indian raids of February 1824, during which many of the buildings were burned; and in 1836 came secularization of the mission's properties.

55. *Erodium* (Greek, erodios, meaning a heron) *cicutarium*, so-called from its long-beaked fruit, is a member of the geranium family. Filaria (or filaree) is a corruption of the Spanish name, *alfilerilla,* meaning a little pin.

56. Mission San Luis Obispo Tolosa, situated not far from the valley known as the Cañada de los Osos, or Canyon of the Bears, was founded September 1, 1772, by Padres Serra and Cavaller, with the assistance of leather-jackets and neophytes from Mission San Carlos de Borroméo del Carmelo. A few months previously, some soldiers from the Monterey Presidio had been hunting in the canyon to relieve a food shortage at Carmel, and because of the help their slaughter of the bears had been, the natives were friendly toward the coming of the missionaries. The ability of Mission San Luis Obispo to supply itself from the natural resources helped to tide over the time until the padres' domestic livestock could be substituted for the wild, and cultivated crops had replaced Indian berries and seeds. The mission suffered during the course of its history from high winds and fires. There was a beneficial side to the conflagrations, however, as they resulted in the use of tiles instead of tules in roofing the adobe church, completed in 1793; after which all the other California missions are said to have followed the practice. When Sherman visited San Luis Obispo on this trip, the portico in front of the church was in place, but according to Father Durán the rest of the property had been virtually abandoned.

57. Mission Nuestra Señora de La Soledad, or Mission of our Lady of Solitude, was founded October 9, 1791, with a corps of Christian Indians from the Carmel Mission assisting Padre Lasuén in the ceremonies. The mission stood in a valley which the members of Portolá's party called Solitude, when they passed through in 1769 on their way to Monterey. Much of the soil was poor, and the rainfall often deficient. Added to these disadvantages were late spring frosts and scourges of locusts. It may have been because of deficient supplies that when the epidemic of 1802 struck the mission, it quickly became severe, deaths being said to have occurred at the rate of five or six daily. Two churches were built during the active life of the mission. The first had only a straw roof, and consequently the adobes under it weathered easily. In common with the other buildings the new church was said to have been low and of simple design; and as a result Soledad did not have the imposing appearance of many of the other missions. Padre Vicente Sarría, who began his work there in 1829, seems to have symbolized in his own person the mission's tragic history after secularization. He refused to leave his Indian flock and, according to report, died from starvation while chanting Mass.

58. San Juan Bautista, situated in a region with a salubrious climate and productive soil, was founded on the twenty-fourth of June, 1797, the feast day of Saint John the Baptist. Fr. Presidente Fermín Lasuén was in charge of the ceremonies, assisted by Padres Martiarena and Catalá. During the next three years the labors of the padres were interrupted by Indian raids and earthquakes, but in June 1803 a new church was commenced (completed in 1812) whose dimensions were greater than those of any other mission church in California. It was in use until the earthquake of 1906 damaged the walls to such an extent that it was dismantled.

59. On March 8, 1846, José Castro, Lt. Col. of the Mexican Army and Commander-in-chief of the Department of California, issued a proclamation informing his fellow citizens that a "band of robbers," commanded by a captain of the U. S. Army, J. C. Fremont, had "... without respect to the laws & authorities of the Department daringly introduced themselves into the country . . ." and were sallying forth ". . . committing depredations, and making scandalous skirmishes." From a photographic reproduction of the original MS, in the Henry E. Huntington Library, of a translation of Castro's proclamation against Fremont, *in* Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), opposite p. 196.

60. Cleland, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-205; composed from the original account *in* William Brown Ide, *Who Conquered California?* (Claremont, New Hampshire, 1880).

61. John "Gilroy" (real name, Cameron) was a Scotsman living in England, who left home under an assumed name, because he was still a minor, and arrived at Monterey on the *Isaac Todd* in 1814. In 1821 he married a daughter of Ignacio Ortega, and the same year accompanied Luis Argüello on his northern exploration in the capacity of English interpreter. By 1833 he had established his Mexican naturalization requirements and became owner of a league of the San Isidro Rancho, which was granted in that year to his father-in-law. Gilroy, one-time soapmaker, wheelwright, sailor, and ranchero, lost all his lands and cattle at the time of the American occupation, but continued to live in the adobe house he had built on his property, until his death in 1869. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 757.

62. The first capital of the State (not actually a "state" until the following year) was fixed temporarily at San José by the Constitutional Convention. But as the preparations made for the delegates, both as to personal comfort and deliberative accessories, were wholly inadequate, it became necessary to find another location. After several attempts to reach an agreement had appeared to fail (MONTEREY, Vallejo, Benicia, Sacramento), Sacramento was selected in 1854.

63. The first legislature of California convened at San José on December 15, 1849, but had no quorum the first two days owing to the heavy rains. Sixteen senators and thirty-six assemblymen finally arrived and continued their labors until April 22, 1850.

64. Mission San José was founded on June 11, 1797, by Padre Presidente Lasuén. Soil and climate were on the side of the padres and, after only eight years, travelers were commenting on the livestock and vineyards and on the general appearance of prosperity of the mission. The process of accumulating the herds and horses was frequently interrupted by Indian raids, especially between 1805-1810 when the expeditions of Luis Peralta and Gabriel Moraga not only punished the marauders but resulted in important information being gained on the country to the east and north. Indian depredations, however, did not interfere with the completion in 1809 of a church to replace the earlier temporary building, that had been made of wood with a grass roof. Sherman's visit in 1850 considerably antedated the destruction of the second church during the earthquake of October 1868; but by 1839, only a few years after secularization, the air of prosperity that once characterized Mission San José had already deserted it.

65. *See* Ellen Lamont Wood, "Samuel Green McMahan . . .," this number of the QUARTERLY, 295.

66. William Gordon, a native of Ohio who had been made a Mexican citizen in New Mexico before coming West, was a member of the Rowland-Workman party that arrived in California in 1841. The place on Cache Creek mentioned by Sherman was the Quesesosi Rancho (in Yolo County) which Gordon received as a Mexican land grant in 1843. It became a popular rendezvous for settlers and hunters, the name of "Uncle Billy Gordon" being a tribute to his hospitality. About 1866 he moved to Cobb Valley, Lake County, where he died ten years later at the age of seventy-five. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 762.

67. One of the oldest settlements on the Sacramento River. It was founded in 1843 by a native of Indiana, William Knight, who came to California in the same party as William Gordon (*see* Note 66, above). H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 702.

68. Bancroft says that in 1850 a ferry to the Washington side of the Sacramento River was changed into a steam boat, named *Alpha*, in order to meet the increasing traffic. The rates were $2.00 for a two-horse wagon; animals, 50 cts. each; man and horse, 75 cts. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 451.

69. Poverty Hill is now known as Stent, a small settlement between Sonora and

Chinese Camp. From this Mount Ararat of the year 1850 to "Kitty's" buffet, was quite a journey for green grass to take.

70. Roughly, the gold deposits lying within the stretch from Mariposa to Angels Camp were included in the term "Southern Mines." Joseph Henry Jackson, *Anybody's Gold* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941), p. 302, with map opposite p. 300.

71. *See especially* Francis Farquhar, "Notes on Joaquin Murieta," *The Life of Joaquin Murieta, The Brigand Chief of California* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1932).

72. George A. Shurtleff arrived in San Francisco October 2, 1849, as surgeon on the *Mount Vernon*. He went to the mines *via* Stockton and began prospecting at Wood's Creek near its junction with the Tuolumne. In 1850 he returned to Stockton and served as a member of the first city council, five years later becoming county recorder of San Joaquin County. At the end of his term, he resumed the practice of medicine in partnership with Dr. Samuel Langdon. In 1856, Governor J. Neely Johnson appointed Dr. Shurtleff a director of the State Insane Asylum at Stockton, where he continued as a director and later as medical superintendent until 1883. During this period (beginning in 1875), he also held a professorship at the University of California in mental diseases and medical jurisprudence. Because of his wide experience, his opinion was frequently sought in the courts, in cases of disputed mental condition and in criminal cases. Dr. Shurtleff died on February 11, 1902. QUARTERLY of the Society of California Pioneers, IV (June 30, 1927), 83-85.

73. The effective discovery of the valley was made on March 25, 1851, by members of the Mariposa Battalion under Major James D. Savage, Western Division of the U. S. Army, while in pursuit of hostile Indians, the Yosemites. J. M. Hutchings, in the summer of 1855, organized what might be called the first tourist party to visit Yosemite, consisting of Walter Millard, Thomas Ayres – an artist, Alexander Stair, and himself. Ansel F. Hall, *Handbook of Yosemite National Park* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1921), pp. 3, 7, 15-16.

74. Edward S. Townsend of Trenton, N. J., and party arrived in San Francisco October 12, 1849, on the *Susan E. Owens* out of New York. Their purpose in coming was to invest in promising business ventures, such as lumbering. Townsend located at Crescent City which he described as being on the edge of the gold field and at the head of navigation; besides, it was on a beautiful plain dotted with oaks and had a view of the lofty peaks of the Sierra Nevada. Pure water and fish were in abundance. "I have no doubt," he wrote to his daughter, "that here will rise a city which will be world-famous for its size and importance. So you may remember my prediction for the town named Crescent City, Tuolumne River, California." He goes on to say that the town of Stockton was "...so surrounded by sloughs of water as to spoil it..." and that the people were "...very sore towards our new city and well they may be, for it will divert three quarters of its business in a year or so."

Empire City (on the southern bank of the Tuolumne, nearly opposite Crescent City) was founded in the same year by a lawyer from Boston, John G. Marvin, who became the first superintendent of public instruction of California, and was quartermaster and commissary of the Indian War Department under Major Savage (*see* Note 73, above). Empire City was made an army supply station for the forts in the mountains; and with its influential backing grew more important than Crescent City. But the floods of 1852 and 1853 washed away almost every vestige of activity in Empire City. In 1854, however, the county seat was located there – for one year only. Both towns received their death blow when the water in the Tuolumne was no longer sufficient for boats to go so far up the river. Helen Throop Pratt, "Crescent City on the Tuolumne," this QUARTERLY, XI (December 1932), 358-362.

75. The date was the fourteenth of the month, and the fire was the third in the city's

history up to that time, its size being twice that of the two previous conflagrations combined. It began about eight in the morning in a bakery shop between Sacramento and Clay streets. A high wind was blowing and soon the whole space between Clay and California and between Kearny and the edge of the bay was in flames. Rebuilding was undertaken on safer lines, with brick replacing wood; but in the fire of May 4, 1851, the brick walls crumbled before the flames, and the thick iron shutters grew red hot and became so warped that those who had gone inside for shelter could not open them to get out. The hollows beneath the planked streets were said to have been "like great blow-pipes, that stirred the fire to fearful activity." Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1855), pp. 277-278, 329-331.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Beaty, John Y.

Luther Burbank, Plant Magician. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1943. 251 pp. $2.50.

Browne, J. Ross

Indians in California. San Francisco: Colt Press, 1944. 73 pp. $3.00. Number two of the series of California Classics.

Dumke, Glenn S.

The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1944. xi + 313 pp., illus., port. $3.75.

Fleming, Sandford

[Cover title]: Ninety-five Years Beside the Golden Gate: The History of the First Baptist Church of San Francisco, California, 1849-1944. [San Francisco: First Baptist Church, 1944] 37 unnumbered pp., illus.

Gregg, Josiah

Diary and Letters: Excursions in Mexico & California, 1847–1850. Ed. by Maurice Garland Fulton, with an introduction by Paul Horgan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. xvi + 396 pp., illus., port., map. $3.00.

Henderson, Daniel MacIntyre

From the Volga to the Yukon: the Story of the Russian March to Alaska and California, paralleling our own Westward Trek to the Pacific. New York: Hastings House, 1944. $3.00.

Ide, Simeon

The Conquest of California, a Biography of William B. Ide. Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, California: [Joseph A. Sullivan] 1944. [ix] + 188 pp., map, illus. $6.50.

A Grabhorn press reprint of the rare original published in 1880.

Jackson, Joseph Henry, Editor

Continent's End: a Collection of California Writing. New York: Whittlesey House, 1944. xv + 415 pp. $3.50.

Kahn, Edgar M.

Cable Car Days in San Francisco. Stanford University: Stanford University Press [Revised edition, 1944]. xvi + 134 pp., front., illus., plates. $3.00.

MacMullen, Jerry

Paddle-wheel Days in California. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1944. xiv + 157 pp., front., illus. $3.00

Mardikian, George M.

Dinner at Omar Khayyam's. New York: Viking, 1944. ix + 150 pp. $2.75.

Morgan, Dale L.

The Humboldt: Highroad of the West. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1943. x + 374 pp. $2.50.

Rowland, Leon

Santa Cruz Sentinel-News Eighty-nine Years Old, Brief History of Newspapers of Santa Cruz County [Santa Cruz Sentinel-News, 1944]. 16 pp.

Shoemaker, Floyd C., Editor

Missouri Day by Day, Vol. II. [Columbia, Mo.: State Historical Society of Missouri], 1943. v + 499 pp.

Contains biographical data concerning John Bidwell, Lilburn W. Boggs, Peter H. Burnett, Josiah Gregg, Ben Holladay, the Robidoux brothers, William L. Sublette, and many others whose names occur in the history of California.

Sill, Edward Rowland

Around the Horn, a Journal December 10, 1861—March 25, 1862. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. 79 pp. $2.00.

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

British Columbia Historical Quarterly

Vol. VIII, No. 1 (January 1944) contains several articles concerning the late Frederic William Howay; "William Sturgis: The Northwest Fur Trade," ed. by F. W. Howay; "A Bibliography of the Printed Writings of Frederic William Howay," comp. by W. Kaye Lamb; and "John Nugent: The Impertinent Envoy," by Robie L. Reid. No. 2 (April) and No. 3 (July) contain "The Journal of John Work, 1835 ... from the Columbia River to Fort Simpson and Return...." Parts I-II, ed. by Henry Drummond Dee.

Covered Wagon

Vol. III, No. 8 (May-June-July 1944) contains: "California's Forgotten Graves," by R. H. Cross; "The Shurtleff House–Shasta," by Edna Behrnes Eaton; "Remme Rides," by George R. Schrader; and "Southern's Station," by Fannie E. Southern.

Oregon Historical Quarterly

Vol. XLV, No. 2 (June 1944) contains: "The Books that Enlightened the Emigrants," by Helen B. Kroll; "Site of the Smith Massacre on July 14, 1828," ed. by Lancaster Pollard; and "The Journal of John Work, March 21-May 14, 1825," ed. by Nellie B. Pipes.

Pacific Historical Review

Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September 1944) contains "The Naval Station at Alameda, 1916–1940," by Frederic L. Paxon; "Dan De Quille, Comstock Reporter and Humorist," by Richard G. Lillard; "The Workingmen's Party of California," by Ralph Knauer; "A Discussion of Urdaneta and the Return from the Philippine Islands," by Henry R. Wagner.

Yosemite Nature Notes

Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (February 1944) to No. 7 (July 1944) contains a series of "Thumbnail Sketches of Yosemite Artists," by Elizabeth H. Godfrey: Thomas A. Ayers, Thomas Hill, Charles Dorman Robinson, Albert Bierstadt, and Thomas Moran.

News of the Society

Meetings

At the luncheon meeting of the Society in the Palace Hotel on September 28, Dr. George D. Louderback, Professor Emeritus of Geology at the University of California, Berkeley, discussed a subject which may be considered the starting-point of the city's past, namely, "The Geological History of San Francisco Bay." Professor Louderback gave an interesting summary of the evidence as to the relationship of the bay to the adjacent country. He reviewed a series of discoveries which tend to confirm or modify earlier opinions regarding the bay's origin, calling particular attention to the implications of the theory that during the Ice Age the level of the sea was considerably below the present level. Seventy-three members and guests attended the meeting.

Dr. Ira B. Cross, Professor of Economics at the University of California, Berkeley, and Dean of the Faculty, American Institute of Banking, San Francisco Chapter, spoke on "Early Banking in California" at a luncheon meeting of the Society at the Palace Hotel on October 26. Dr. Cross presented an interesting and lively account of the vicissitudes of banking in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Sacramento, with some references to the Mother Lode communities, discussing principally the period of the early '50s. Author of the "History of Banking in California" and books in related fields, Dr. Cross brought out many facts not generally known, even to the bankers who were present. In attendance at the meeting were forty-nine members and guests.

Dr. Lynn T. White, Jr., President of Mills College and an historian of note, addressed the Society on November 9 at a luncheon meeting in the Palace Hotel. His subject was "Is History Becoming Less Interesting?"

In discussion of this topic, Dr. White referred to the writing of the Dutch historian Huizinga, as to the disappearance from much modern history of epic and dramatic elements. In writing upon California history, Dr. White suggested, there are many opportunities to consider subjects of much interest and importance, even if they may lack some of the exciting qualities of the stories of the discovery times and the Gold Rush era. He indicated that the California Historical Society could profitably direct more attention to periods after the '70s, including the present. Not only events generally considered historic but also trends and influences in significant fields should be considered, he said, including the development of writing, painting, drama, architecture, and other arts in California. It was an inspiring and "arresting" talk. Present were fifty-eight members and guests of the Society.

Aubrey Drury

Gifts Received by the Society

September 1 to November 30, 1944

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MISS ELISABETH S. BENTON – Coolbrith, Ina, *Songs from the Golden Gate.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895; MacLafferty, James Henry, *The Army of the Days and other Verse.* Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1911; Miller, Joaquin, *Memorie and Rime.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885; Peale, Rembrandt, *Graphics, the Art of Accurate Delineation ...* Phila., Edward C. Biddle [1843].

From MR. ALLEN L. CHICKERING – Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.* 5 vols. Phila., 1850.

From MISS ALICE FLINT – *San Francisco Almanac, for the year 1859.* San Francisco, published by W. F. Herrick and Octavian Hoogs [c. 1858]; *The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the First Congregational Church of San Francisco, celebrated Wednesday, July 29, 1874.* [San Francisco]: Spaulding & Barto, 1874.

From THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY – Dumke, Glenn S., *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California.* San Marino: Huntington Library, 1944.

From MISS KATHLEEN O'LOUGHLIN – "*Wele Madoc Dewr Ei Fron*" "*Here's Madoc brave his Soul*" *and* "*Quetzacoatl returns.*" Privately printed, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada, October 1, 1942.

From MRS. JOHN H. RUSSELL – Browne, Ross E., *Views of an Agnostic.* Oakland, California, October 1, 1915.

From MRS. REVA SCOTT – Scott, Reva, *Samuel Brannan and the Golden Fleece, a Biography.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944.

From SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE – *Annual report of the Board of Regents . . . for the year ended June 30, 1943.*

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS – Kahn, Edgar M., *Cable Car Days in San Francisco.* Stanford University Press [Revised edition, October 1944]; MacMullen, Jerry, *Paddle-wheel Days in California.* Stanford University Press [1944].

From JOHN W. TODD, JR., THE SHOREY BOOK STORE – Shaw, George C., *The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It.* Seattle, 1909.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER – Green J., *Remarks in Support of the New Chart of North and South America: in Six Sheets.* London: Printed for Thomas Jefferys, 1743; Gregg, Josiah, *Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg: Excursions in Mexico & California. 1847–1850.* Norman, Oklahoma, 1944.

From WINE INSTITUTE – Leggett, Herbert B. *Early History of Wine Production in California.* San Francisco, April 2, 1941.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MISS ELISABETH S. BENTON – Benton, Elisabeth S., Account concerning the Painting of the Mission Dolores Valley in 1858, by Mrs. Mary Park Seavy Benton (typewritten); Benton, John E., Sermon notes, and other notes, MS; Specifications Protestant Mission Dolores Church Building, MS.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. HARRY BURLINGAME – San Francisco *Daily Alta California,* October 29, 1882.

From MRS. G. CAVANAUGH – *The Mentor*, 39 issues; *Sierra Club Bulletin*, bimonthly, 12 issues.

From MILTON H. SHUTES, M. D. – *Antiques*, vol. 43, no. 2, February, 1943.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From the late ALBERT M. BENDER – Photostat copies of maps, the originals of which were given to Pomona College by Mr. Henry R. Wagner.

From MR. FREDERICK J. BOWLEN – Post card: Lilly Hitchcock Coit. 1937.

From MRS. RAY HARRIS – Panorama of San Francisco, 1849 (letter-sheet); View of Sacramento as it appeared during the Great Inundation (engraving); The City Hall, San Francisco (clipping).

From MISS GENEVIEVE HARVEY – Two photographs of Edward Vischer and Family.

From B. NILSON – Two photographs: A Saturday afternoon in winter (in Golden Gate Park); U. S. Flagship San Francisco.

From MRS. JOHN H. RUSSELL – Photographs: Miss Light Browne, of Oakland, California; Group picture showing the Misses Annie Miller, Lucy Herrick, Julia Adams, Hannah Adams, Mrs. Lottie Miller Mhoon, and the Messrs. Edson Adams and John Adams, at Lake Merritt, Oakland, California.

From MRS. WILLIAM A. WOOD – 22 photographs of members of the Brownlee, Lamont, McMahan, Reed and Yount families; 6 photographs of Bartlett Springs.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MISS ELISABETH S. BENTON – Calling card announcement: Mr. and Mrs. S. P. Jewett; Order of exercises at the Anniversary of the Theological Department, Yale College, August 19, 1846; Program by the Nineteenth Century Literature Section of the Ebell, August 26, 1899.

From F. E. FREY – Check, $253.00, to order of John Frey, on D. O. Mills & Co., Bankers, Volcano, dated Nov. 27, 1861.

From MISS GENEVIEVE HARVEY – Circular: Excursion to California of the Society of California Pioneers of New England, on Thursday, April 10, 1890, at 4 P.M. For the Directors, Wm. H. Thomes, President. Boston, Sept. 9, 1889.

From MRS. OLIVIA CASTRO SCOTT – Ticket for Camilla Orso Concert, 1871.

From MILTON H. SHUTES, M. D. – Glass bottle, made in San Francisco, in the 1860's or 1870's.

Lawton R. Kennedy of the Westgate Press, printers of the Quarterly, explains that owing to W. P. B. restrictions on paper, it has been necessary to reduce the weight or thickness of the paper on which the magazine is printed. This is unavoidable; but it is hoped that the members of the Society will recognize that, although the Quarterly appears to be thinner, the same amount of text is contained in each issue. As soon as war-time restrictions are lifted, the magazine will return to its former size.

New Members

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Sustaining	
Adams, Mrs. John Payson	San Francisco	Mr. William Cavalier
	Active	
Atkins, Mrs. G. Herbert	Berkeley	Mr. Ralph H. Cross
Bannon, Rev. John Francis	St. Louis, Mo.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Dartmouth College Library	Hanover, N. H.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Ditz, George A.	Stockton, Calif.	Miss Raymonde Rooney
Hanna, J. L.	San Francisco	Mr. William Cavalier
Huber, Walter L.	San Francisco	Mr. Francis P. Farquhar
Hyde, Mrs. Margherita	Berkeley, Calif.	Mr. J. S. Hutchinson
Keeney, James Ward	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Griffith Henshaw
McBean, Atholl	San Francisco	Mr. William Cavalier
Macy, Earl T., D. D. S.	San Francisco	Dr. George Hinkle
Mount St. Mary's College Library	Los Angeles	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Shallenberger, F. C.	El Cerrito, Calif.	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Shoaf, Ross T.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
St. Sure, Judge A. F.	San Francisco	Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman
Van Sooy, Neal	Stanford University	George D. Lyman, M. D.

Marginalia

Mrs. William A. Wood (Ellen Lamont Wood), who recounts the life of Samuel Green McMahan, a member of the Bidwell party and at one time the owner of Bartlett Springs, is a graduate of the University of California. Her father, George A. Lamont, came to California with his parents in 1854. He was graduated from the Benicia College and Law School in 1865, and practiced law in Fairfield for many years. As will be seen in Mrs. Wood's article, her mother was Hattie Yount, who was born in El Dorado County, California, in 1853.

George Hinkle, author of the article on the Samurai in San Francisco, was formerly a member of the faculty of Stanford University and is now Lecturer in English at the University of California. The parish of his grandfather, Reverend George Bell Hinkle, who migrated to California in the wake of the gold rush, extended through some 200 square miles of the northern Sierra and Nevada Territory; and at one time he was pastor of the frontier church at notorious Bodie, California. The family printing establishment, a famous Colonial American press, issued the first American printing of the Augsburg Bible, and is still operating in Newmarket, Virginia.

During the twenty years that Paul P. Parker, one of the founders of the Monterey County Historical Society, published the Salinas Journal, he ran a weekly column of interviews with pioneers and excerpts from the archives in the County Recorder's Office. His interest in the tiles from Mission Soledad would have been shared by his maternal grandfather, Hadley Hobson, a brick mason, who helped build the first brick house in Monterey in 1848. Mr. Parker is now with the Farm Credit Administration in Berkeley.

Among our new members:

Mrs. John Payson Adams is the daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, and the granddaughter of James G. Fair, who, with John W. Mackay, James C.

Flood, and William S. O'Brien, formed the "bonanza quartette," in the great days of the Comstock. In the present national emergency, Mrs. Adams is devoting her interest and energies to the needs of the Red Cross, through the work of the Carmel Valley Chapter, of which she is the head.

Robert E. Burns (name listed among new members in the September issue) is a graduate of the College of the Pacific at Stockton, California. He was registrar of the college in 1936, and in 1938 became assistant to the president. He is now taking an important part in the establishment there of a foundation in early California history, with particular emphasis on the American period.

All four of Walter L. Huber's grandparents arrived in California in the early years of the gold rush. In his own work as a civil engineer, Mr. Huber has covered the entire western section of the United States, and may thus be said to have enlarged the scope of his forebears' original interest in this part of the country. At various times he has been regional engineer of the United States Forest Service, director of the Sierra Club (for thirty years), and vice-president of the American Society of Civil Engineers.

James Ward Keeney is a captain in the United Airlines, at present flying the Pacific.

During World War I, Atholl McBean was deputy commander of the American Red Cross in Switzerland; and in 1939, when man-made Treasure Island was being transformed into the Golden Gate International Exposition, he served as chairman of the corporation which sponsored its creation. Mr. McBean is now chairman of the Board of Gladding, McBean and Company; he is, in fact, the son of one of the three original founders, who began the manufacture of clay products at Lincoln, Placer County, in 1875.

F. C. Shallenberger has for many years been the principal of El Cerrito High School. His grandfather was a forty-niner, and his father, F. G. Shallenberger, a resident of Berkeley, was born in 1866 at Blue Tent, a small mining community in a forest of sugar pines and oaks, not far from Nevada City. As part-shelter, the miners had pieced together old remnants of blue denim, until there was enough for a tent, which was forthwith raised; and the distinctive color gave the settlement its curious name. Town (and tent) have long since disappeared.

Ross T. Shoaf, who is leaving the first of January 1945 for overseas duty as highway traffic engineer for the War Department, is a graduate of the University of California. He spent one year at the Harvard School of Business Administration, and was holder of the Bureau of Highway Traffic Fellowship at Yale University (thesis: "Municipal Control of Parking Facilities"). Since 1940 Mr. Shoaf has been assistant traffic engineer of the City of San Francisco. In his technical writings, an idea of his interest in the history of San Francisco can be seen by such studies as the derivation of the name "Islais," the history of Union Square, and the reason for the specific location of Market Street.

Adolphus Frederic St. Sure was admitted to the California Bar in 1895, and began practice at Alameda, where he served as city recorder and city attorney. Since 1925, he has been a judge of the United States District Court, Northern District of California.

Neal Van Sooy is a graduate of Stanford University, and is now furthering the interests of his Alma Mater by acting as director of the Stanford Alumni Association. For ten years he was the publisher of the Azusa Herald.